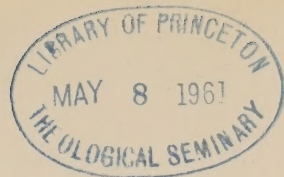


BV 637 .K54 1961
Kloetzli, Walter.
The city church--death or
renewal

*The City Church—
Death or Renewal*



THE CITY CHURCH— DEATH OR RENEWAL

A Study of Eight Urban Lutheran Churches

By WALTER KLOETZLI[✓]

With Foreword by Lauris B. Whitman,

Afterword by Charles Y. Glock



MUHLENBERG PRESS

PHILADELPHIA

© 1961 BY MUHLENBERG PRESS

Library of Congress Catalogue Number 61-6751

PRINTED IN U. S. A.

UB 881

To
Bertha Paulssen



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

FOREWORD

By Lauris B. Whitman

Director, Bureau of Research and Survey, National Council of Churches

This volume represents another step in the process of studying churches as social institutions. It is an important step and will be of interest to all serious students of the church, whether they be social scientists or leaders in the life and work of the churches.

It should be pointed out immediately that this is the first publication to emerge from a study of considerable scope which has been under way for several years. The Effective City Church Study, as it has come to be known, grew out of a serious confrontation by the Department of the Urban Church (of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America) of such questions as "What is an effective city church?" and "What factors are related to effectiveness in urban churches?" After preliminary exploration by the department, the National Council's Bureau of Research and Survey assumed general leadership for the project. A number of major Protestant denominations are participating in the study and there will be both denominational and interdenominational analyses of the data. Reports will also be prepared for a conference on the subject.

This study also represents a major breakthrough in the methodology of studying churches. Heretofore, the major emphasis has been placed upon quantitative data of a demographic and ecological nature and data relating to membership, attendance, and similar factors. In this study, the use of three instruments—the Congregational Self-Study Guide, the Membership Questionnaire, and the Depth Interview Guide—provides several types of data which can be related in the process of analysis.

It should also be pointed out that the present project reveals new problems of methodology. Much of the work, not only on the Lutheran study reported in part in this volume, but in other phases of the study as well, has been done in academic situations where relentless criticism of methodology has been constantly applied. This has not only contributed to the emerging results of the study but has highlighted a number of major problems which can be grappled with in future

studies. We expect not only significant findings from the project but also an important refinement in the methodology of studying churches.

Walter Kloetzli's report here is limited to a descriptive analysis of the Lutheran data. The Membership Questionnaire, the Depth Interview Guide and the Congregational Self-Study Guide provide the basis of this analysis. Further reports on the study will be somewhat more theoretically oriented. However, the treatment in this volume is an important part of the total project and makes this a volume which can stand on its own merits and which should appeal to a number of distinct audiences. Local ministers, denominational executives, and social scientists will find here material which will answer some questions and raise others, stimulate discussion and further research, and result in a new look at some policy and program issues relating to the churches in urban communities.

The reader of this book will be disappointed if he expects to find in its pages all the answers to the problems of the city church. This is expecting too much from the research process. However, the reader will find here information and insights needed in any serious attempt to come to grips with these problems. It can even be said that without such background material it is almost hopeless to try. Whatever planning there is in the churches, whatever dialogue develops between churchmen and social scientists, whatever revision takes place in the church's program to reach the city depends upon such information.

In the field of church-related research, Walter Kloetzli has become known as an objective inquirer. In his own denomination, in the National Lutheran Council, and in interdenominational and ecumenical activities he has been a constant promoter of research, and he has been a moving spirit behind the entire Effective City Church Study. He also understands, as few people in the churches do, the role research has to play in policy and strategy development. He has demonstrated his competence in effective liaison between research and the churches. In his earlier volume, *Urban Church Planning*, written with Arthur Hillman, he has contributed significantly to the literature in the field of urban church work. The present volume provides an analysis of vital data which reveals this background and understanding.

PREFACE

This book has been written with two purposes in mind. One purpose is to increase an understanding of the dynamics of urban communities and the work of churches in those settings. The second purpose is to examine some of the consequences of the work of several city churches as they face the problem of their changing communities. As noted in the Foreword, this book is but part of a larger venture—the Effective City Church Study sponsored by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. For want of a better label, this book can be called a descriptive comparative study.

Three instruments were used in the course of the study. The Congregational Self-Study Guide was basically the one developed by Everett L. Perry of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. The Depth Interview Guide and the Membership Questionnaire were developed early in 1957,* sharing in their development were, in addition to the author, Charles Y. Glock, Karl H. Hertz, Everett L. Perry, Ross Sanderson, Richard Sommerfeld, Glen W. Trimble, and Lauris B. Whitman.

The field work was begun in late spring of 1957 and completed during the fall of that year. The self-study guide was completed by a representative committee from each of the congregations. From six to eight depth interviews were conducted with representative members of the congregation—each lasting from four to twelve hours. Mail questionnaires were sent to each member of the smaller congregations and to a random sampling of the larger congregations. A great debt of gratitude is due to those who performed this labor of love. Many hours of time and much energy were expended in the gathering of this valuable data, and for this we are deeply grateful to Harold J. Belgum, Martin Chworowsky, Ingolf Dahl, Ernestine Dillum, Howell S. Foster, Frederick G. Gotwald, Phillip Hammond, Karl H. Hertz, C. Dale Johnson, Alf M. Kraabel, Anna V. Larson, James A. Mason, Sara Nordlie, Edward K. Perry, James Raun, Charles E. Rein, Robert G. Sander, Frank-

*The questionnaire is reprinted along with the results for this study in the Appendix, beginning on p. 199. Copies of the Depth Interview Guide are available on request from the Division of American Missions of the National Lutheran Council, 327 La Salle St., Chicago 4, Ill. Price, \$1.00.

lin Sherman, Bettie Stride, John L. Thompson, Carl T. Uehling, and John H. Wagner.

As this book is written, many others in denominational and interdenominational offices together with university sociologists are working with comparable data. From these various efforts considerable light and new understanding may be expected to be brought into the body of knowledge that we have about the urban church.

Aid was provided in the preparation of the necessary calculations and charts as well as in the production of the manuscript by Doris Hoel, Ruth Sylvan, and Dorothy Wagner. A special word of thanks is due to M. Theodore Heinecken of Muhlenberg Press and James A. Mason of the Chicago Lutheran Research and Survey office for their assistance in the preparation of this manuscript. The help of such friends as Charles Glock, Arthur Hillman, Gerhard Lenski, and Lauris B. Whitman at various times during the course of the study has been invaluable. The National Lutheran Council† portion of this total study has been made possible by the contributions of the home mission boards of the denominations participating in our agency and by grants from the Lilly Endowment and the Russell Sage Foundation. A word of thanks is also due the pastors and members of the churches studied.

Though many capable hands have been at work in various parts of this study and though a generous amount of highly qualified counsel has been available to the author, he alone assumes full responsibility for all parts of this text. The views, opinions, and reactions expressed in response to the data and to the unique drama of each of these churches are attributable only to him.

WALTER KLOETZLI

†The National Lutheran Council (NLC) is a co-operative agency for eight Lutheran denominations: the United Lutheran Church, the American Lutheran Church, the Augustana Lutheran Church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Lutheran Free Church, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, the American Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the Finnish Evangelical Church.

CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Section I: Portraying the Churches	
<i>Part 1: Downtown Churches</i>	8
Chapter 1. St. John's	9
Chapter 2: Immanuel	19
Chapter 3: Our Saviour's	28
<i>Part 2: A Suburban Church</i>	38
Chapter 4: Reformation	39
<i>Part 3: Neighborhood Churches</i>	49
Chapter 5: Zion	50
Chapter 6: St. Mark's	59
Chapter 7: Bethlehem	69
Chapter 8: Trinity	81
Section II: The Urban Church—Survey and Comparison	
Chapter 9: Characteristics of Membership	95
Chapter 10: Church Life of Membership	118
Chapter 11: Perception and Evaluation of the Church and its Leadership	138
Chapter 12: Perception and Evaluation of the Neighborhood and the Church's Involvement	158
Conclusion	171
Afterword: A Sociologist Looks at the Parish Church, by Charles Y. Glock	177
Appendix: Mail Questionnaire Responses	199

*The City Church—
Death or Renewal*

INTRODUCTION

We are concerned with the question, can the churches cope with the problems of the urban community? If modern man survives, presumably he will survive as a city dweller. He must, therefore, learn how to live in the city. If the traditional institutions of Protestantism are to be part of that survival, they too must learn how to survive in the city. In these few words the necessity, even the urgency, of this study becomes apparent.

The city is real. It is here to stay. It is the dominant influence in modern society, and in it are concentrated most of the pressing social problems of our day. In this environment twentieth-century man must live, and within this ceaseless flux his institutional structures must function with a certain degree of competence. The urban church is subject to the fluctuations, the tensions, and the changes of that sprawling giant, the city. Because so many churches have disbanded or have broken away, Protestantism seems to be failing or at best to be having only limited success in the city. Church leaders have become concerned if not aroused. They ask, "Has the Protestant church really met the challenge of the modern urban world?"

Pastors and laymen alike have been confronted by a host of new challenges and responsibilities in the midst of their shifting neighborhoods. In some cases they have been completely overwhelmed by the task and consequently have taken flight from it. In other instances there has been bold and creative adaptation and innovation in the face of change. This study intends to reveal some of the conditions which lead to effective community adjustment and action by the urban church, as well as the factors which block adjustment and action. It also probes beneath conventional statistics by analyzing congregations' attitudes and perceptions, roles and relationships, organizational structures, and strategies for meeting change. This probing was accomplished in intensive interviews with selected key members of the congregations and by submitting detailed questionnaires to a substantial part of the membership.

Many churchmen are convinced that effective city churches have succeeded by departing from tradition. New forms of institutionalized religion may be arising out of the silent transformation of the church

responding to the compelling pressures of urban social forces. The point at issue is precisely this: can denominational, priestly, highly institutionalized religious organizations deal effectively with social problems without also taking on the sectarian, prophetic, or secularized characteristics?

Some churchmen have insisted that the churches ought not "be conformed to this world" but rather ought to "transform the world." This is generally the Christian position, but some clarification is needed. Certainly the church should not merely be a "reed blown with the wind." On the other hand, church people must be sensitive to the changing needs and opportunities to witness to the gospel in our time. A congregation can transform and redeem its community and the individuals in its parish only by adapting its programs and directing its emphasis to meet the changed or changing needs of the community. At the same time it must not conform to its setting.

That churches have a responsibility for the solution of social problems is accepted here as axiomatic. Through the questionnaires, self-study guides, and interviews we have sought to determine the degree to which some congregations have accepted this responsibility. By no means is it suggested here that the effectiveness of a church's witness is to be considered *only* on the level of social action. The church is not a social agency. However, the very nature of urban life with its many impersonal social structures demands that the church witness *responsibly* to the community. In so doing it can reach and minister more effectively to individuals, whether they are members or not.

An important assumption of this study is that the methods of the social sciences can be used to appraise characteristics of the community—either church or neighborhood—as well as the involvement of church members and stages in the process of adaptation or adjustment. It is felt that these methods would show at least in part how congregations have acted in the face of their changing situations and emerging needs. Twelve Lutheran congregations in various cities in the United States were selected for study by the staff of the Division of American Missions of the National Lutheran Council. Most have been successful in meeting at least some of the problems of the urban environment; some have not. From the twelve originally studied, eight were selected for analysis in this text.

Community problems considered in the selection of the churches were racially mixed neighborhoods, rapid population turnover, housing deterioration or renewal, family disorganization, and urban anonymity. Where the church was responding to the problems, its action could take several forms: attending to the individual, meeting specific

community problems with concerted community action, or meeting generalized, impersonal problems affecting community "climate." Responses varied in nature, degree, and effect. Congregational attitudes toward social changes and problems—called "perception" in this study—influence a church's effectiveness of response. Other factors which control effectiveness are congregational and community structures, either static or especially developed to deal with a problem, as well as the kind of leadership, authority, and power at work in the situation. Thus the sequence of stages in effective action can ordinarily be determined.

Concerning "perception," the major question is not *whether* the congregation is aware of its problems but *how* it looks on them. The nature of each problem must therefore be considered. Is it a matter of individual concern or a wider problem involving community or neighborhood? In either case, is the congregation's response to be considered an act of "good citizenship and neighborliness" or as an outcropping of Christian faith and witness? In other words, is a congregation's acceptance of responsibility church-related?

Within each congregation and its neighborhood are characteristics which either support or hinder effective action. While responsive action may be centered in either the community or the church, the amount of change in a neighborhood plays an important role in any consequent action. Also, there are many different kinds of community structures or congregational organizations which may be operative. Other important variables are the geographical distribution of the congregation's members and ecological processes in both congregation and community. A dispersed congregation may not perceive community problems in the same way as a congregation concentrated in the neighborhood of the church. In any case there is always environmental influence, which will be dealt with in some detail.

This study takes into account not only such membership characteristics as age, sex, and occupation, but also the members' "religious life": participation in religious activities, religious literacy, perception of the church's responsibility and effectiveness, and attitudes toward the composition and program of the congregation. It recognizes that the leadership of a religious organization differs in several respects from that of any other group. The minister is traditionally a "sacred" leader in popular thought; theologically he is ambiguously both leader and servant of his congregation. Lay leadership must also be taken into account—its interrelations with the minister and the rest of the congregation as well as its perception of its own and others' roles and its position in the eyes of the congregation. Equally important is the

distribution of power among leaders, its continuity, rotation, and transference. The actual authority they possess must also be considered, and, finally, their involvement in community activities.

Perhaps the most important phase of this study is its attempt to discern the "process" by which the churches have responded to their problems—an identifiable sequence of empirically definite stages in the adjustment to a social situation. As key events in the process we look for "crises," crucial moments during each stage which determine the sequence. Are there different kinds of crises at different stages? How have they been met? We also look for a definite pattern of adjustment, investigating the possibility that the pattern for one situation may be applicable to another.

In the selection of the eight churches for this study a deliberate attempt was made to secure a sampling of Lutheran congregations from a variety of urban situations and with different degrees of effectiveness. Among the criteria used by the staff of the Division of American Missions for making selections were the following:

1. *The size of the city.* Larger cities provide particular problems and complexities because they have larger population shifts, more extensive neighborhood changes, and more complex organizations than the smaller cities. Naturally this does not mean that all large-city churches automatically face more difficult situations; generally, however, they often must cope with problems unique to the large city. Four of the eight churches dealt with in this study are in the nation's two largest metropolitan areas; the other four are in cities with less than a million inhabitants (the smallest is 300,000).

2. *Regional differences.* The strength of the combined Christian witness differs distinctly from region to region just as the historical depth of denominations varies from one part of the nation to another. Generally speaking, the West Coast is one of the more unchurched regions of the nation, while the North Central region of the Midwest tends to be the most Protestant-oriented (and Lutheran-oriented) part of the nation. In the older eastern cities one finds a very high proportion of unchurched population as well as the consistent strength of the Roman Catholic church. Three churches included here are eastern, the rest midwestern.

3. *Locale of church.* Churches were selected from downtown as well as neighborhood settings. Obviously the role of the downtown church and its peculiar problems are quite different from those of the neighborhood church. One church in an industrial suburb was included as another type of urban situation.

4. *Varieties of community change.* In some cases the change in a

neighborhood has been merely an effect of high density of population; in other cases it results from the in-migration of people ethnically similar to old occupants but on a different class level. Some neighborhoods have received in-migrant groups from the rural South, often including a high proportion of Negroes; others have received a movement of northern Negroes with urban backgrounds. The increase in urban renewal and slum clearance activities has drastically changed some neighborhoods, sometimes producing towering, high-density luxury apartments which are literally citadels of isolation from both community and church. All of these situations are represented here.

5. *Congregational response.* There are different levels and kinds of response to community change and problems. Some churches have ignored the changing community and have assumed no responsibility for either the total community or individuals within it. In others there is highly individualized social service, but any kind of structured, broad concern for the total community and its organizations is lacking. Still others have assumed major responsibility in shaping and working with movements for community betterment and stabilization of highly transient and mobile neighborhoods. Two of the churches studied are at either end of this range of response; the rest can be placed somewhere between them.

6. *Variations in ethnic emphasis.* As anyone familiar with the Lutheran church in this country knows, the nationality or ethnic background of the membership has often been evident. Many Lutheran congregations across the nation have until recent years been almost exclusively interested in serving people of Scandinavian or German background. Although this situation has long since been minimized or tempered in the eastern or older portions of America, it still finds considerable support in some of the midwestern cities and had to be considered in this study.

7. *Denominational distribution.* Four of the largest Lutheran synods are represented here, not necessarily according to exact distribution. This is partly a geographical matter, since Lutheran synods generally follow regional lines, but it also includes factors of national background and doctrinal emphasis. The United Lutheran Church (ULC), with two million members, is the strongest Lutheran body in the East and is represented here by three congregations. The Augustana synod (Aug.), midwestern with a Swedish background, has 600,000 members; two of its churches are included in this study. Two congregations were also chosen from the Evangelical Lutheran Church (ELC), midwestern Norwegian and more than a million strong, and one from the American Lutheran Church (ALC), also midwestern but with a

German heritage and just over a million members. Since this study was conducted, the latter two synods have merged to form The American Lutheran Church (TALC), while the other two (with the American Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church) are almost ready to form the Lutheran Church in America (LCA).

8. *Size of congregation.* The range of membership of these congregations is from about 200 to 1,200 adult members. Three of the eight had over 800 members; three had from 500 to 800; two had less than 500.

The above factors are not listed necessarily in order of priority; they form rather a series of considerations which were used in selecting churches for the study. Naturally, only Lutheran churches were considered, since the study was conducted by the National Lutheran Council; however, these eight churches were never considered to be a representative or a reliable sample of NLC urban congregations. The hope has always been that the research program and its data might provide the insights needed to understand the urban church. The emphasis, therefore, has been on looking behind the scenes into some of the generally undocumented yet nevertheless definable characteristics of certain urban churches as they perform their ministries. This book, then, is not intended to be a definitive study of the urban church; it is rather an introductory analysis of recently obtained data, to be used by all who are concerned with city problems and the church's involvement with them. More detailed or restrictive analyses are now being developed from the same data.

The organization of the book is simple. Section I covers each church separately, providing the "portrait" of each necessary for any real understanding of its situation. Section II presents for comparison the membership characteristics, church life, and congregational and community "perception" of all eight churches in juxtaposition. An Afterword by Charles Y. Glock places this study in its sociological context.

One final note: the names of the churches and communities are necessarily fictional, in order to preserve a certain degree of anonymity for the congregations and pastors involved in the study. However, no important data has been excluded because of this treatment. Cities are not named, nor are any persons, but there has been no attempt to conceal the characteristics of either. Documentation of certain material quoted in these chapters has necessarily been omitted, since it would in every case reveal the identities of both city and church.

SECTION I

Portraying the Churches

Part 1: Downtown Churches

The beginning of the story of any city lies at its center, the heart of the human activity and imagination which informs both its life and its landscape. It is this "core," known variously as Main Street, the Loop, Downtown, or the central business district, which represents the image of a city. From it the city has grown and expanded to its outermost reaches; toward it are drawn the pursuits of men through converging lines of trade, travel, and communication. But the core of a city is more than a geographical center, more than a landmark to the original settlement of the community—it is the embodiment of the urban, industrial order, the prevailing social fact of our times.

The beginning of the story of the city church is also to be found in the core of the city, for here began the city's religious life interwoven with the fabric of events that comprise a city's past and present. A study of the urban church must begin with its downtown institutions.

Chapter 1

St. John's

Name: St. John's Lutheran Church

Synod: United Lutheran Church (predominantly eastern)

Location: business center of an inland eastern city with two-thirds of a million population serving metropolitan area of two million

Membership: about 1,100 baptized (900 confirmed)

Founded only a few years beyond the infancy of the city itself, St. John's is truly a downtown church, situated in the city's administrative and commercial core and centrally located throughout its long history. Organized in the 1830's, it stands today only a few blocks from its original location. It has had a succession of strong, capable, and responsible pastors and has recently been making some creative and positive attempts to serve the young adult, the business worker, and the weekday office building employee of the center city.

History

In the year in which St. John's was organized, over 120 years ago, the population of the city was less than 20,000 and was concentrated in the vicinity of the present central business district. Railroads and waterways brought accelerated industrial growth to the city during the nineteenth century, and the area in which St. John's is situated became a compact commercial center, occupied by large office buildings.

With six other churches in the vicinity, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, St. John's traces a past of transition from relatively local parish origins to a more or less typical downtown ministry. But, in certain respects, it has always been related to the wider city rather than to an immediate locale, both as mother church to a number of congregations and as a continuing, visible, and centrally situated landmark of the denomination's work in the region. Unlike most Lutheran

city churches in the nineteenth century (and afterward), St. John's was organized to serve an English-speaking congregation from a fairly wide area of residence, not a tightly knit "pocket" of central or northern Europeans using their own language.

As the city expanded, the geographical spread of the congregation increased. Already before the mid-nineteenth century, the pastor of St. John's had to cope with this situation in his visitations. According to one account:

The congregation was scattered over the city and a half-dozen suburbs. There were neither railroads nor street cars. Only in the center of the city were there pavements or boardwalks. . . . Along the streets and lanes of the city, across its hills and valleys, through rain and mud, heat and dust, trudged the young pastor.

In today's enlarged physical community served by a modern transportation system, the pastor is faced by the same kind of dispersal.

Naturally, this situation has always caused a major emphasis upon the teaching and preaching ministry of the church. Sixteen different pastors have served St. John's, with length of service ranging from less than a year to more than twenty years. More than a few have been noted and remembered for their outstanding preaching ability, undoubtedly a large factor in the ability of the church to maintain a dispersed membership. One of the earliest and most renowned of its pastors is remembered in this fashion:

During his pastorate . . . he was undoubtedly one of the most popular of our pulpit orators. And up to that day, it is doubtful if any of our city clergymen had attracted larger numbers outside of their own congregations, than those who statedly attended his preaching. This was especially the case at night service, when sitting accommodations could scarcely be secured by the those who thronged to hear him.

This same pastor is better known as one of the pioneers of Lutheran missionary and charitable work in this country. And St. John's, at least sporadically, has always counted a "missionary spirit" as an aspect of its life and tradition, attributing its origins to that pastor.

More recently, it is still apparent that the relative success of the church's mission is heavily dependent upon the quality of its pastors. The last three pastorates (including the present one) have been instrumental in raising the church to its previous high status, after an ebb in the early part of this century. Drastic changes were made, and, during the first of these three pastorates, according to one congregational leader, "A church that was obscure in the life of a great city became . . . an important voice in the life of the community." This pastor had found the church "tragically run down both from the

standpoint of membership and physical facilities," but soon "enthusiasm grew and what at first appeared to be a very disheartened membership quickly changed into an enthusiastic group." In the thirty years following, the image of the church has continued to improve.

Meanwhile, the central commercial core of the city, like those of many American cities, has undergone a revitalization through private and public redevelopment programs. This program has served not only to raise the economic and social status of the core area, but also to provide the increasingly fragmented metropolis with a focal gathering place and cultural meeting point. It is in this situation that St. John's finds itself today.

Environs

Although it serves a vast industrial region of six million people, the commercial core in which St. John's is located is quite compact, covering less than 400 acres. Only a few hundred persons have permanent residence in the area, but in the daytime many thousands are drawn to the district for work, shopping, or pleasure. The church is located on a major thoroughfare near the edge of the district, surrounded by office buildings, hotels, and heavily traveled traffic arteries. To the west extends a congested residential area, currently undergoing a face-lifting, while to the north, east, and south of the district are industrial areas, waterways, and railways. Beyond these lie the metropolitan residential districts.

Since 1945 approximately one-fourth of the core area has been entirely rebuilt; fifty new buildings have gone up, the first in several decades, including several in the immediate vicinity of St. John's. The blighted residential section to the west is being replaced by upper-income dwellings and a cultural center, to be separated from the business center by expressways, parking areas, and green space. According to a recent history of the church:

During these years the downtown area had been experiencing a . . . renaissance, and many new buildings and apartments had been built in the neighborhood of the church, so that the growth of the congregation was steady and active. The place of the downtown church in this great metropolis took on new importance. . . .

Members of St. John's consistently interpret these physical changes as beneficial to the church. About the new residential area to the west, one member said, "As far as that area was concerned, the people being moved out was a good thing. . . . They had a lot of undesirables, drug addicts, drunks, panhandlers. . . . A better quality of people

will be there now." The creation of a nearby convention center was welcomed because "people who come to conventions would visit the church." A negative effect of the reconstruction was mentioned: the damage to the church's interior caused by the construction of a nearby new office building. But the members at no time expressed the possibility that the church might influence center city changes; only the *effects*, good or ill, seem to concern them.

St. John's is one of some 200 churches of its own denomination in the metropolitan area, but for various reasons its congregation, over 1,000 adults and children, is twice the size of the average Lutheran church in the region.

Physical Facilities

St. John's has a relatively large edifice, although it is dwarfed in the company of so many tall office buildings. Originally constructed in the late 1880's, it houses a sanctuary seating 500, a chapel for 150, a dining hall and kitchen, offices, and other rooms. Of late, the church has spent something like a quarter of a million dollars toward the renewal of its interior and exterior facilities, thus going along with the trend of its surroundings. This reveals an understanding of its function in the core area; there has also been recognition that a major problem for the future lies in the limitations of its physical facilities.

Composition of Congregation

Of the entire baptized membership, including approximately 550 female and 450 male members, one-fourth is accounted for by women over 55 years old, while well over half consists of men and women 45 or older. Children 14 and younger constitute 15 per cent, young people from 20 to 34 only slightly more.

In addition to being rather "old," the congregation is also relatively homogeneous. Of its more than 400 employed persons, over 50 per cent are in clerical occupations and a bit less than 20 per cent are sales workers, while 15 per cent are classified as operatives and semi-skilled workers, and only 7 per cent as professional and technical workers. A relatively high proportion of the adult membership has attended college, and members' incomes lie within the "middle" range. It is interesting to note here that many members of the congregation consider themselves to be a diverse group. They refer usually to occupational diversity: "We have all kinds . . . professional people, professors, dentists, doctors, lawyers . . . there are some factory workers." However, their homogeneity is implicitly revealed in their expression that the membership is "pretty varied," mentioning as proof the few

minority group members in the church. Said one, "We have a Negro member that we've had for a long time; and a Jewish family . . . they've been in pretty long too. . . ."

Members indicate that a number of nationalities are represented in the congregation, and also that a number of members were not Lutherans prior to joining St. John's. Generally the greater diversity of background appears in the younger families and youth organizations. According to one member, "About 40 per cent of our Young Married Couples were formerly split faiths."

Geographically the congregation is well dispersed. One member laughingly suggested that the community served by the church is the entire county, and his jesting definition is probably correct. Only ten members of the congregation, none of them elders, deacons, trustees, or Sunday school teachers, live within a mile of St. John's; no Sunday school student comes from that area. However, most live within thirty minutes traveling distance, and prefer not to live within the vicinity of the church, mentioning dislike for the commercial area, apartment living, and high rents in the district. One member summarized the typical attitude: "I like to live away from business, but I like to come down for the prestige of attending St. John's Church, and to hear both the pastor and the fine music."

Lay Leadership

The organization of the congregation is centered in its council, twelve men elected for three-year terms at an annual congregational meeting. In many respects the council, presided over by the pastor, is the carrier of the tradition of St. John's. Councilmen are entrusted with the burden of responsibility for the workings of the church; accordingly, there is a recognition that they are major participants of a continuity extending through the history of the life of St. John's. Many of the men are members in long standing.

All are either professional or white-collar workers, described by themselves or members of the congregation as "men of affairs," "those with college background," "those who are spiritual," "good steady men . . . with common sense," and "fairly well off." Like the pastor, most live between five and ten miles from the church. According to the pastor, "They're devoted to the church . . . are aware of their spiritual tasks. . . . They relate finances and property to the total purpose of the church. . . . They're the biggest givers to the church, that is, financially, they're the right men for the job." He did note that "they need more personal devotional life," faced by the pressures of business and social life. The council members themselves commented on the

co-operative and willing spirit of the group as a whole.

Meetings of the council produce "healthy differences of opinion," according to the pastor, although his resolutions are "usually adopted." A council member said, "The pastor doesn't exercise a controlling voice, but he does exercise a great deal of leadership." Only occasionally are there differences of opinion between pastor and council, and then involving such minor matters as distribution of palms on Palm Sunday or the selection of bulletin covers. These matters, however, suggest the council's role within the wider currents of church policy. It is also apparent that any major departures from the regular pattern of church activity are rather dependent upon the initiative and resources of the pastor.

The Pastor

Now serving his fourth pastorate in the twenty years since his ordination, the pastor came to St. John's in the mid-fifties, considering his duties as "a challenge to develop downtown church life." At his previous church, in a major city of a nearby state, he had been active in civic concerns involving human relations and had worked in the development of an inter-racial ministry. Son of a Lutheran minister, he first studied the sciences in college before deciding to become a minister. Since his ordination he has undertaken postgraduate work and holds an advanced theological degree.

"The acute concern," the pastor has commented, "is how God can get hold of modern man in his secularized and complex existence." Thus, in the unique situation of a church finding itself at the core of a modern city, he finds a striking opportunity to articulate his "concern." Believing that "Christian faith is relevant to every phase and experience, for God has redeemed the whole of man," he attempts to direct congregational effort toward not only "knowing" faith but "relating" it. "How a man treats his wife is conditioned by his faith; how he approaches his work—all are given meaning by his faith." The pastor lists his responsibilities as follows: "to make clear the Gospel of Christ in teaching and preaching situations"; "to confront men with the claim of God in personal and group situations"; "to be a pastor to people . . . in times of crisis"; "to be the administrative head for the congregation as an organized entity."

In view of the special situation at St. John's the pastor considers his most important role to be teaching and preaching. Thus he spends about one-third of his time in study, sermon preparation, and teaching, but indicates that he would prefer to spend even more time on this aspect of his work. However, administrative duties consume about

twenty hours a week, and, since at least three different sermons are preached in a week, the time he spends on study and preparation would appear to be minimal.

His sermons impress members of the congregation as being relevant to their situation, which is of course his intent. His theory on preaching is: "No sermon is a sermon without the biblical text; and no biblical text is the Word of God unless it is relevant to the person of the hearer." An Easter sermon contained the following statement: "I can say to you that the very existence of the church has meant that Christ lives in the hearts of people to change lives and make them better. That's the meaning of Easter every day of your life."

The major problems confronting St. John's as set down by the pastor are consistent with his wider interests and concerns. They include "evangelization and training of capable leaders," "the proper education and whole church experience of young people," "lay contact and care of fellow members," as well as the problem of staff, facilities, and finances "to carry on the program." On matters of social concern he theorizes that "the gospel offers radical solutions to social problems not based on traditional patterns of behavior to which conservatives pay homage." The "real solution" to such issues as racial tension and world dissension "can only be on a religious basis . . . a new spirit in individual man under the impact of God's judgment and grace."

The Program

Like those in a number of downtown churches, the program of St. John's is a curious blend of the more traditional activities of a congregation-centered community church and the newer departures necessitated by its unique setting and, in this case, usually introduced by the pastor. Of course, some of the activities are not much different from those of any Lutheran church. Two Sunday morning services are usually attended by about half the total membership along with fifty to seventy-five nonmembers. Communion is held at intervals according to the church year six times a year, attended on the average by two-thirds of the communicant membership; Wednesday night services are conducted in Lent. The Sunday school, serving all from preschool age to adults, has an enrollment of over 200.

The more traditional aspects of the program are represented by such auxiliary organizations as the Luther League (high school students and younger), a men's brotherhood organization, and, for women over 25, an altar guild, a chapel guild, a sewing society, and two mission-oriented groups known as the "Emma Jacobs Society" and the "Carver Mission Friends." (These latter especially suggest a well-

seated tradition.) Then there are various committees, attached to the church council, including finance, social service, music, membership, trustees, and pulpit committees, and, until recently, a cemetery lots committee.

Although the above program seems inclusive, it gives little indication, except in the number of nonmembers attending services, of the downtown situation of the church. In recent years, however, there have been innovations which draw major attention to the church's locale. Sunday services are broadcast weekly, noonday services are held Wednesdays and Thursdays and followed by luncheons, attention has been paid to publicity and promotion, as well as to counseling services. Evangelism and kitchen committees have been added to the congregational structure.

Under the present pastor some significant moves have been made, consistent with his emphasis on involvement and relevance. A volunteer choir was added to the paid vocal group to encourage "proper musical training and development for the congregation." (The church has long been known for the high quality of its music.) Evangelism teams cover sections of the city, following up on names secured at services or at the coffee and fellowship hour which now follows the second service on Sunday. A young adult group was organized to serve "single young people who are beginning their life's work in a great city." The Young Married Couples group was reorganized and has become a major force in the church. Finally, an adult night school was formed to offer weekly classes, on a fee basis, in Bible study, church history, doctrine and music, psychology, etc. In general, the new aspects of the program appeal to younger people and lead them into positions of more responsibility in the congregation.

Special Concerns and Problems

As already noted above, most of the matters to which St. John's must give special attention are involved either with its unique history or its unusual location. But there are other problems which it has in common with most city churches. As a whole the congregation, led by an active pastor, is vitally interested in both the present image of the church and its future prospects.

A prominent church with a dispersed congregation offers some important concerns. "We're like the window of the Lutheran church," one young member commented; this image is representative of congregational opinion. They realize the prestige location and status of St. John's, and thus look on the sermon and the music program as having to maintain consistently high quality. In addition, "The church always

has a responsibility as the mother church of the Lutheran churches of the city," according to one member. "I guess if this were a Roman Catholic church, it might be thought of as a cathedral." At the same time, some of the older members seemingly regret the lack of pastoral visitation which is a result of scattered membership and having a pastor caught up in his downtown work. Sensitive to this problem, the pastor envisions such solutions as added staff members, lay visitations, and community groups gathering in members' homes for Bible study, prayer, and fellowship. At the same time, the congregation looks on itself as a "friendly" church, which possibly reflects the new departures toward wider areas of service for the downtown community; the anonymity of the downtown area is combatted by the personal friendliness of its members.

There is a certain tension inherent in the situation of St. John's which is common to many downtown churches. Here is a church with a strong tradition and a congregationally oriented program for a dispersed but faithful body of members which is also attempting to reach out to the wider human community centered in the business district. Naturally, there is some understandable regret expressed by some members for the "change from old to new," the "departure from the traditional." But older members generally are receptive to, if not especially enthusiastic about, the "new life" being brought into the church; they seem to recognize the importance of the pastor's concentrated efforts to work with youth groups.

Perhaps the greatest area of concern for St. John's is the discovery and definition of its exact responsibilities to the community. "We're needed down here," said one member with thirty years in the congregation. "We have a mission to accomplish." The mission itself is still in the making. The pastor is anxious for added staff members to "work in the field of social action," including pastoral counseling. Specific projects underway are social programs for the aged and for "wheel chair" young people. But members of the congregation still see their immediate work as congregationally oriented. The Sunday school serves members' children almost exclusively, and there seems to be little desire to reach residents of immediately adjoining community areas. The question of taking Negroes into the church has never been discussed formally—there is one Negro member—but members foresee no integration problem, even though the residential area to the west is predominantly Negro. The pastor was assured before taking his call that there would be no restriction on the basis of race, but so far, according to a member, "no approach has ever been made to them."

Financial problems are felt acutely by the pastor, not so much by the

congregation. Plans are being made for a two-year development fund of \$80,000 to aid the "social action" program, but only the pastor seems concerned about the overall financial situation, with money needed for physical facilities and additional staff. About two-thirds of the communicant members make pledges to current expenses, less than half contribute to benevolences. Endowment income is slight, less than \$1,000 a year, and about 8 per cent of the total income of \$70,000 is obtained from loose offerings at services. One-fourth of the total income goes to benevolences, the remainder is equally divided between salaries and local expenses.

Summary

Since its "reawakening" thirty years ago and through the continuing efforts of three ministers, the image of St. John's has changed decidedly. Members who can remember earlier days have various impressions of the change—the church is friendlier, or more alive to the community, or more physically attractive, or more suited to a downtown program, or more attentive to the needs of young people. In any case there *has* been a change, and if perhaps many members are still drawn to St. John's for reasons of prestige and church prominence, there is perhaps also a reawakening of the "missionary spirit" which informed the church at its beginnings. At one time this spirit was embodied in the mothering of new congregations in the city and suburbs and in willing support of missionary and benevolent enterprises in the church-at-large. Today that spirit might take form as support for "radically" new innovations in a ministry within the heart of a city. What departures have already been made could not have been accomplished without congregational support.

Chapter 2

Immanuel

Name: Immanuel Lutheran Church

Synod: United Lutheran Church (predominantly eastern)

Location: outer edge of the commercial center of a huge eastern metropolis

Membership: about 1,000 baptized (800 confirmed)

Situated in the midst of a vast metropolitan region, Immanuel, an old, established congregation on the fringe of the city's commercial area, has seen its surroundings undergo a startling change in recent years. A lower middle-class residential area is being transformed; rundown brownstone dwellings are giving way to high, sleek luxury apartment buildings with upper-income inhabitants. Within the last ten years Immanuel has made a significant transition, too; its ethnically oriented ministry is being replaced by a consciousness of responsibility for its neighborhood, and its pastor has introduced an evangelism and adult education program imaginatively molded for the sophisticated apartment dweller.

History

Like most of the churches and synagogues in the area, Immanuel dates from the nineteenth century in one of the country's oldest cities; unlike most, it has never, until recent years, had their metropolitan-wide orientation. The community, known as "West End," developed rather early as a comfortable residential section bordering the city's central area. Since the 1930's the neighborhood had been "going down"—that is, the middle-class residents were dispersing outward, and new residents much lower on the economic scale were moving in. Thereafter, West End gradually evolved into an important commercial and governmental center, and the high-rise luxury apartments with their new type of inhabitant began to appear. Immanuel, which

could once describe itself as a "family church" serving a "family-type situation"—that is, the large number of German-background people who once lived in the neighborhood—soon found itself to be a downtown church surrounded by a different sort of population, with assorted ethnic backgrounds well outside the traditional reach of the congregation.

For many years Immanuel led a placid existence as, according to one member, "a social club—well, even more specifically, a German club," never attempting to reach anyone in the community beyond the few blocks immediately surrounding the church. With the dispersion of ethnic Germans to the suburbs came a severe drop in membership; during one three-year span, the adult enrollment went from 3,000 to 900. But the area rebounded and, in the mid-1950's, Immanuel began to discover its responsibilities.

This took place with the arrival of a new pastor, who immediately initiated a congregational self-study to discover the possibility of the church's work in the community. A congregational retreat followed, where the members were instilled with "a tremendous amount of enthusiasm and interest," according to the pastor. This new sense of responsibility for the community was to take shape in planning and finance committees and a definite program. Today, as stated in the Master Plan for Immanuel Church," a pamphlet published by the church:

Immanuel definitely is on the move, due to the retreat experience and the inspiration which it has wrought in all participants. . . . Any moves which Immanuel will make, and must make, should be reasonable, pointed, and geared to the needs of our people and of our community.

Environs

A commercial and governmental center in its own right, West End, the community served by Immanuel, is also a residential district, including both permanent residences and hotel accommodations. Therefore it is not, strictly speaking, "downtown," but offers the unusual situation of a "neighborhood" which shares many characteristics with the downtown area.

About one third of the West End area is used for residential purposes, including houses, apartments, and hotels. Here live 60,000 permanent residents, with accommodations for 20,000 transients. As a whole, the area is recognized as a place of fashionable residence, due to both its origins in the nineteenth century and its present high-cost luxury living units. However, there are two distinct components in the neighborhood: the remnant of the older community and others in a relatively low income bracket living in the remaining brownstones, as

well as the newer group with higher incomes and educational levels. Thus over one-third of the community's employed persons are in professional, technical, and managerial occupations; another one-fourth are clerical or sales workers, and one-fifth are domestic help or service workers. It is no puzzle to discover where each occupational group finds residence in West End.

The neighborhood is coming more and more to reflect its proximity to the city's commercial core, particularly in the makeup of its population. Older couples, childless couples, and unattached men and women predominate. More than half the population is over 45; less than 12 per cent is under 20. Women from 35 to 65 comprise nearly one-third of the *total* population and men are the minority in all age groupings except the 25-35 range. West End's recent history is reflected in its ethnic makeup: in 1950 one-fourth of its residents were foreign-born (over half from northern Europe). Undoubtedly this percentage is lower today. Nonwhite races account for less than 1 per cent of the population.

So it can be seen that West End has become more and more a prestige location with a definite community atmosphere. The apartments attract people with comfortable incomes and a desire to live in the city, near their places of employment and the "life" of the city. With all its diversity of background and its rather strange history, West End is becoming increasingly homogeneous both economically and socially.

The churches of West End mirror both its history and its present situation. Not far from Immanuel is St. James Protestant Episcopal Church, known throughout the city, a large (3,000 members) church dating from the early nineteenth century. With a huge budget and an extensive educational and social service program, it functions both as a downtown church for the city as a whole and as a community-related parish.

The large staff includes four clergymen, as well as social service, medical, religious education, and program directors. Then there is Washington Street Methodist Church (average Sunday attendance: 1,500), functioning for its denomination in a manner similar to St. James. Three ministers head its twenty-seven-member staff. Both churches draw less than one-third of their membership from the West End, but both are engaged in community service, St. James with an affiliated community center, Washington Street with a weekday nursery. As prestige churches in a prestige environment, they are oriented both to their community and to the city-at-large.

There are, of course, several other Protestant churches in West End, all considerably smaller than those mentioned above. Three (Episco-

palian, Reformed, and Presbyterian) serve congregations with mixed social and economic backgrounds and operate programs to serve social and recreational needs in the area. The rest are similar to Immanuel in that they have always served distinct ethnic groupings in the neighborhood (including Swedish and French Protestants).

In addition, there are six Roman Catholic churches and three Jewish synagogues in the area. St. John's Cathedral is the focal point for one and a half million Catholics in the metropolitan area and draws up to 10,000 to its Sunday services. West End Synagogue holds a similar prestige status for the city's Jews. But most of the other non-Protestant churches reflect early settlements of national and ethnic groups (Italian, Bohemian, etc.).

On the whole, then, the churches of West End illustrate the role of the community itself in relation to the wider city. West End is at the same time a residential neighborhood and an integral part of the city's commercial core; the churches serve a variety of residential needs, while some of them represent their denominations for the city as a whole. But it is in serving the residents of West End that the churches face their largest task; statistics on affiliated membership show that out of 60,000 permanent residents there are only 21,000 church members (13,000 Roman Catholics, 2,000 Jews, and 6,000 Protestants). As Immanuel's pastor points out, the missionary possibilities are clear.

Physical Facilities

In use for more than fifty years, the church of Immanuel Lutheran congregation is of fairly good size—the sanctuary seats 600—and is adjoined by a parsonage and a parish hall. Both congregational members and outsiders use many of its facilities, which include classrooms, meeting hall, gymnasium, and bowling alleys. The church has had only one other location in its history, also within the environs of West End.

Composition of Congregation

Two-thirds of the total baptized membership of Immanuel is female; women over 35 constitute nearly half the membership. Also, women 45 and over contribute over half of the church's total income, while all the male members contribute about one-third. Most of the latter are in the middle-age range. There are only about thirty members between the ages of five and twenty, comprising less than 3 per cent of the total membership, but there are also about eighty children under five on the rolls.

Members of the church consider themselves to be a relatively homogeneous group, and their estimate continues to hold true. There is a

certain pride in the German background; said one member, "We actually have very few folks that aren't of a good solid German background. I would say that at least half the people coming in now [new members] are from a German background." As a matter of fact, ethnic Germans comprise well over half the membership; less than 10 per cent of the total membership do not have roots in northern or northwestern Europe. The minority includes some Poles and Hungarians, and a few Negroes.

The members also correctly identify themselves as a middle-class grouping of more than modest means. One estimated the average yearly income to be \$6,000 and declared that "members are primarily white-collar and executive." Actually, less than 12 per cent of the employed members fall outside this classification. Clerical work occupies more than a third of employed members; 30 per cent are in professional occupations, 15 per cent have managerial positions.

As a result of the migration in the thirties, about half the members live beyond five miles from the church, only one-fifth within a half-mile. Two-thirds of the church council and half the Sunday school teachers are in the first category.

Lay Leadership

Although reportedly representative of the membership according to congregational opinion, Immanuel's leadership appears to be concentrated among the members of a higher economic level. One member allowed that "four persons on the council out of twenty-six are much wealthier than the average run of members." Another explained, "All of the men on the council should know a considerable amount about business. We are not interested in getting any Tom, Dick, or Harry on the council."

Apparently, the church council is a select group of highly efficient leaders. According to one observer, the church council is a "closed corporation," with nominations taken care of by a committee; "it is highly irregular to have any names entered from the floor." Nevertheless, it is a "functioning body which works co-operatively with the pastor and has the approval of the church at large." The pastor also looks favorably on his council, pointing out their "executive ability," their understanding of policy decisions, and their avoidance of petty details. He adds, "We must say as a very strong point of the board that these men are very Christian and I say this in the best sense of the word."

The Pastor

In one of his sermons the pastor of Immanuel said these words to his congregation:

You are asked here, "How do you preach the Christian message? Never to anyone perhaps?" That's shirking your duty, you know. By talking about nice sociability at pretty affairs in church parlors? . . . By self-righteous smugness? By . . . identifying your church with certain national, racial, cultural, economic groups and their little idiosyncrasies which we love so much and feel called to preserve even if the heavens fall in? There is not a ghost of a chance for that sort of preaching, Paul says.

This illustrates the problem which the pastor faced when he first came to Immanuel several years ago, and his response to it. He saw his responsibility as one of guiding the congregation to the realization "that the grace of God is all-inclusive . . . and is offered to all men." Thus he initiated the self-study and retreat which broke ground toward a renewal of congregational life.

The pastor evaluates his role at Immanuel as requiring first of all a "closeness" to the members in order to "understand their needs, their way of thinking, and their way of life." If this is accomplished, the people can "feel, because of what he says and what he is, God's will and love in all life's situations." The role also demands a high quality of preaching, because of the prestige location and the intelligence of the listeners. Says the pastor, "It is important that the preacher not be sloppy in any sense of the word. He must be intellectually sound and intellectually convincing and challenging." The sermon "must be true to the text. . . . It must preach the Gospel. . . . It must be prepared with compelling logic. . . . The delivery must be excellent, especially in this area." He does not consider the sermon an educational occasion but rather as "a confrontation of the believer with Christ." But members of the congregation, most of whom speak highly of the pastor's sermons, do consider the hearing of a sermon as an educational experience.

An unusual loyalty is expressed by members of Immanuel to their pastor; it has resulted in a generally willing and co-operative acceptance—if not enthusiasm—for the programs he has initiated. Although part of this loyalty may simply be evidence of Immanuel's loyalty to itself, a traditional possession of the church, it also reveals the personal attraction of the pastor. His keen sensitivity to the needs and ways of his people has won their confidence, and their generosity in giving both time and money to the new programs has been the result.

The Program

The most outstanding facet of Immanuel's activities is, of course, the Master Plan for Immanuel Church and its accompanying departures. It reveals a genuine turning from a closely bound fellowship to a body aware of its responsibility to the community. There is still a

certain vagueness about the meaning of this "community service"; some members see it embodied in leaving the church door open at all hours for private devotions or in a noonday program of worship services. But, says one member, "Compared to other Lutheran congregations, Immanuel is doing very good. It's beginning to roll . . . but compared to big Protestant churches like St. James or Washington Street we actually aren't doing much. They are serving the community. . . . We're starting to do this now."

Admittedly, then, Immanuel is groping, instilled by the thought, "We must serve the community" but lacking experience and confronted by a unique and elusive environment. Nevertheless, this groping has resulted in a near-tripling of financial contributions, an enlargement of staff, the development of an evangelism committee and the reactivation of a stewardship committee, the addition of new organizational programs, and an emphasis on adult education within several existing organizations. The church facilities are being used by nonmembers as well as the nearly twenty church organizations. The Master Plan is as yet in the embryonic stage, but there is forward motion.

Meanwhile the normal activities of any church are carried on. Two Sunday services (the earlier a Communion service) are held; Communion is also celebrated at the main service on the first Sunday of each month. Two evening services are held each Wednesday (Communion on the first Wednesday of the month), and noonday services are daily. A typical Sunday finds about eighteen people at the early Communion, approximately 225 (including sixty nonmembers) at the main services. About thirty-five attend Wednesday vespers, while the twenty-minute noonday services draw from three to ten. The pastor does not conceal his dissatisfaction with attendance: "I believe that the reason . . . is simply tradition. It is the old German emphasis on three or four festival services a year at which time the church is packed, you know." Other possible reasons, as pointed out by a member, are the long distances which must be traveled and the loss of contact with many whose names still appear on the membership rolls.

Sunday school attendance is low—about forty children a week—which is not surprising considering the few children in the church, the scattered membership, and the decreasing number of children in the community. At least one member expressed regret that more attention was not paid to the Sunday school program; behind this feeling was probably a deeper regret for the lack of closeness and "fellowship" in the church. Only one-fourth of the membership participates in the meetings of the church's many organizations, although about half hold membership in the affiliated auxiliary organizations.

Accompanying the recent changes in the church's program has been a new "tone" in church life, manifested chiefly in changes in the worship service. "The whole worship service is far more liturgical than before," noted the pastor, and added, "It must be businesslike and professional." The use of the new Service Book of the Lutheran church and other departures from old, familiar practices symbolize Immanuel's efforts to raise the tone of its services in keeping with the urbanity of its environment.

Special Concerns and Problems

Immanuel has two major areas of concern: its own attitudes and the peculiar nature of its environment. About the first the pastor says, "We have a long way to go . . . in the change of psychological attitudes. . . . In the old guard, the older people do not like the fact that there are so many new people, not only in the congregation but also in the leadership." Several members remarked that these older members miss "the clubby atmosphere that we used to have" and are upset by the presence of so many strangers in what used to be a family church.

But there is more to the problem than simply the nostalgia of an "old guard." As a whole, the congregation desires to serve its community, but it thinks usually in terms of ministering to an "upper-crust" element, possibly in reaction against its solid middle-class background. At the same time there is a certain reticence about setting up a program similar to that of the large Protestant churches in the area, those which presently attract upper-class groups. According to one observer, "The assumption is that, as a Lutheran church, they [Immanuel's congregation] have something to offer, although for the most part the [members] are unable to state what this uniqueness represents."

Some members are alarmed by the presence of several Negroes in the congregation. Said one Sunday school teacher, "I have one Negro child in my Sunday school class and I know that his mother has been very offended by the remarks she's heard some people of the congregation make." Another member said, "Oh, I have nothing against them, understand, but I can tell you one thing. There will be a lot of pressure later for individual glasses at Communion if we get more Negroes into the church. . . ." However, there has been no discussion of the issue either at congregational or council meetings, and, as the pastor says, "Actually the question is a bit remote because of the complete lack of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the community."

There is some awareness in the congregation that the community is not entirely upper or middle class, and that people of lower financial

means are included in the responsibility of the church. The problem arises in a discussion of the Sunday school. One member said, "We have children from very poor families and children from extremely wealthy families. Perhaps because of these two widely divergent backgrounds we have a lot of psychological problems—our children have them. . . ."

The anonymity of West End adds to the difficulties of Immanuel's ministry. Equipped with statistics on the large number of unchurched in the area, the pastor and members have nevertheless found an evangelism program extremely difficult to carry to the apartment dweller. "The chief problem," says the pastor, "is to get past the doorman at the apartment hotel or at the luxury apartment house. . . . It is difficult to find out who lives in the apartment or to get permission for a census . . . because the owners of these apartment houses are . . . corporations." This may also reveal the inadequacy of the personal-approach method in a community like West End.

Summary

The comment of one member pretty well sums up the situation of Immanuel: "What we're trying to do here in terms of giving people good music and good preaching and real service is something that the others have been doing for fifteen or twenty years. After all, we have to face it. We've been at it only two years and it's going to take a long time." At any rate, a beginning has been made, in spite of the fact that Immanuel has had to move without precedent in an entirely new kind of setting. The church has begun to recognize its own needs and those of the community, and has begun to surmount its major obstacle. That obstacle is the congregation itself.

Chapter 3

Our Saviour's

Name: Our Saviour's Lutheran Church

Synod: Evangelical Lutheran Church (midwestern, rural—Norwegian background)

Location: fringe of administrative and commercial core of the capital of a large midwestern state; near governmental center of the state

Membership: about 1,100 baptized (over 800 confirmed)

No one in this country need be reminded that the Midwest, outside of the Great Lakes region, is a stronghold for the "small-town" way of life. But the picture of "Main Street" is only partially valid today; there are large urban centers in this region which share many of the attributes and problems of the better-known cities. On the other hand, the Lutheran church in the Midwest has been a predominantly rural church; thus those churches which are within the cities share many characteristics with the enclosed and self-sustained community found in a small town. These include the "closer intimacy" among members, the common traditions and ethnic identities, and the "friendliness," or, as some would have it, "clannishness." And for the pastor, like a small-town civic leader, "personality is the chief asset." These are some of the characteristics of Our Saviour's, in the shadow of the state capitol in a metropolitan area of over a million, and provide its major obstacles in coping with its genuinely urban setting. For various reasons, Our Saviour's has never become a "downtown" church in the true sense of the word.

History

On the occasion of a Norwegian patriotic festival a few years after the turn of the century, in the city where Our Saviour's is situated, the governor of the state, himself of Norwegian descent, said:

How much the Norseman has contributed to the development of our state none can measure. In the field of commerce he has taken a position in the very forefront and has grown to be an honored and respected member of this community. In the field of education he no longer follows, but has become a leader. . . . In the domain of religious thought and action he stands side by side with the giants who stand for moral worth, the uplift of the community, and the reclamation of man.

Our Saviour's has stood for almost a century as a symbol of this heritage which the governor extolled. The metropolitan area near whose heart it lies has always been known throughout the country as a center of Scandinavian settlement in this country.

The first Our Saviour's congregation was formed shortly after the end of the Civil War, less than two decades after Scandinavian settlement of the city began. The rapidly growing community then numbered 20,000, and Our Saviour's was located on its outskirts. In ten years the population was up to 40,000, and the church moved into a Scandinavian settlement on the fringes of the commercial and industrial core—it was one of eight Lutheran churches within the city limits (two Swedish, four German, two Norwegian). After 1900 changes in population composition—outmovement of members and dispersal of Scandinavians—necessitated the purchase of a new site. The church moved about a half-mile, and became a neighbor of the recently completed state capitol.

The characteristics of Our Saviour's are, and always have been, those of a strong, self-contained community, closely identified with a particular ethnic group, even with a certain social and economic level within that group—typical characteristics of a small-town unit. Historically these features, along with a rootedness in past traditions and precedents, have provided a source of a certain kind of strength; today they provide obstacles to any departures to be made in response to the church's present situation.

Under the present pastor, relatively new to the congregation, there have been some efforts to make this response, but he must face a problem of historical precedent. When each new pastor has accepted a call to Our Saviour's, he has had to deal with a "faction" supporting his predecessor. According to one member, this phenomenon, peculiar to a small-town atmosphere, lasts about five years and then dies out.

Environns

It goes without saying that Our Saviour's is not in a typical downtown situation. Not only is the church a well-known, centrally located representative of Scandinavian Lutheranism in a state known for its Scandinavian-Americans, it is also in the vicinity of its denominational

headquarters and the chief theological seminary of the denomination. In addition, its immediate neighborhood is not only the state governmental center but also a relatively heterogeneous residential neighborhood now undergoing a renewal program. And within sight of the church is the busy shopping and office center of the city.

One out of every five people in the metropolitan area surrounding Our Saviour's is of Lutheran church affiliation. The particular denomination is represented in the area by thirty-nine churches, with an average baptized membership of over 1,100. The denomination itself is one of the least "urban" in the United States due to the settlement patterns of Norwegian immigrants in this country. Four-fifths of its membership is rurally located, and only 12 per cent of its 2,400 churches are in metropolitan areas.

Located on the corner of a major thoroughfare, Our Saviour's is bordered on the west and southwest by the state governmental buildings and their surrounding park areas; farther distant is the downtown section. To the east, north, and northwest lie some of the older residential areas of the city, comprising single- and two-family houses as well as multi-unit structures. According to the 1950 census the church's neighborhood housed more than 20,000 residents; since then, however, a redevelopment and relocation program has decreased this figure by at least one-third.

The remaining population is relatively heterogeneous. Although the relocation program has substantially decreased the formerly large Negro population, the area's racial and cultural background remains diverse. Major occupational groupings include operatives and semi-skilled workers, clerical and sales workers, service workers, and people with professional and technical occupations. The population's age groupings and family status has also been varied; recently more and more families have moved into the area, as well as single persons employed at the nearby commercial and governmental centers. Religious affiliations can only be approximated: one-half Roman Catholic, one-fourth Lutheran, 20 per cent other Protestant, 1 per cent Jewish. The area encompasses six Roman Catholic churches and four other Lutheran churches, as well as several schools (parochial and public) and community centers.

Members of the congregation take a dim view of the church's neighborhood, although granting that the redevelopment program is beneficial to the community's physical and social features. Over half of those questioned called it "a poor place to live." Said one, "It's not the kind of community you want your children to grow up in or your grandchildren to come back and visit. It was either slum or close to

slum although much of this has been cleared up now. . . ." Problems mentioned included housing conditions, juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, and family breakdown.

Physical Facilities

The edifice of Our Saviour's reflects its setting in a very real way; its architecture is patterned after that of the nearby capitol, which was the work of a renowned architect in the early twentieth century. Breaking with traditional patterns for church buildings in its time, it shows that the congregation was at one time willing to depart from its parochialism, at least in this one respect. Within the building, with its Romanesque façade and portico columns, is a sanctuary seating 650, a number of classrooms, offices, and parish hall facilities. The parsonage is located several miles away.

Composition of Congregation

Our Saviour's is a "family" church, as the statistics on age groupings show. Members over 45 comprise 41 per cent of the congregation; 22 per cent are children under 15. The other groupings are considerably smaller: 16 per cent are 15-24, 11 per cent are 25-34, 10 per cent are 35-44. Over half the congregation—57 per cent—is female.

The congregation is quite homogeneous; they are middle or lower-class and predominantly of Scandinavian descent. Interestingly enough, most members consider the group a "cross section of population." But the diversity they see is either the geographical dispersion or the various types of jobs held by members or the varieties of northern European countries represented in members' backgrounds. Said one, "The membership is quite a mixture . . . both of nationality and cultural background. . . . Besides the Norwegians who used to predominate [and still do in most ELC congregations], there are some Swedish persons . . . there are many mixed marriages . . . and there are some German persons."

About one-third of the employed members of Our Saviour's are clerical or sales workers while almost 30 per cent are skilled and semi-skilled workers, craftsmen, and operatives. Professional and technical workers comprise 15 per cent, service workers another 15 per cent. Six per cent are classified as laborers. According to the members, the average annual income in the congregation is about \$5,000.

Our Saviour's is a widely scattered congregation. Only 17 per cent reside within a mile of the church, while well over half the congregation lives more than two miles away.

Lay Leadership

Formal leadership in the congregation is highly organized, and is a factor in the church's slow response to its situation. The two most important groups are the all-male boards of deacons and trustees, with nine members apiece. There are thirty-eight Sunday school staff members, all but four of whom live beyond two miles of the church. In all about 115 persons (over 10 per cent of total membership) hold some sort of formal office or position of leadership; one-fifth of those hold two or more positions concurrently.

The deacons' duties involve primarily the services and programs of the church, visitations, membership, and the spiritual life of the congregation. The trustees are concerned with finances, facilities, and program administration. Members of both boards are elected for three-year terms at the congregation's annual meetings usually from a slate prepared by a nominating committee; they cannot succeed themselves in office. The eighteen in office are representative of the composition of the congregation in background and occupation—almost to the point of being a "cross section." The average age of the present deacons is 45, of the trustees 49. None of the trustees and only two of the deacons live within two miles of the church. One member's comment about the boards is probably widely held in the congregation; he described them as "democratic," "a cross section of the congregation, socially and economically," and "all strong leaders."

Relations with the pastor are not always smooth. The present pastor describes the boards as "average," commenting favorably on their representativeness of the congregation but noting their reticence to show "concern for the church neighborhood" since they live so far from the church. Differences of opinion have arisen primarily over new and different departures from past practice suggested by the pastor—especially "new programing" and "financial expenditures." Disagreement has also occurred over certain changes in the worship service tending to be "high church." These too were seen as attempts to depart from tradition.

Unlike the former pastor, the present man interprets his role in relation to the boards as "advisory." He feels that "pastoral suggestions will be followed, but if too strong pastoral leadership is asserted, the boards will rebel. . . ." Board members themselves consider his leadership to be "democratic"; said one, "The present pastor waits and says, 'I want to hear what you say first'; then he will offer his own ideas later."

The Pastor

When first coming to Our Saviour's, the present pastor immediately

ran into the "faction" for his predecessor. This has by now pretty much died out, although one member remarked, "Some people say that the [present] pastor doesn't shake hands as much as Pastor X and that this has hurt our stewardship." The situation he faces illustrates the small-town factor in the congregation—personality is the pastor's most important asset.

Now in his late forties, the pastor previously has served several congregations in extremely varied situations. Assisted by a full-time parish worker and a parish secretary, he spends about seventy-five hours a week on his pastoral duties; almost one-third of this time is consumed by administrative functions, including church meetings. Study and sermon preparation use twenty hours a week, counseling another ten. He would prefer to spend more time counseling and teaching, but lacks additional staff members to relieve him of some of the administrative load.

Both to the pastor and members of the congregation the sermon is the most important part of his responsibility, and the members are favorably impressed by his preaching ability. One member commented that he has the "quality of being able to direct his sermons to each member personally. . . . [He] puts Christian principles into concrete, everyday examples to help members. . . ." The pastor himself sees the long-term objective of his preaching to be that "of Christian concern and responsibility." He wants "people to accept Christ as Saviour . . . and then they will have concern, by putting God's Word into effect."

In looking to the future, the pastor sees no easy task before him in leading his church to serve the residential community surrounding it. That members are generally favorable to both him and his preaching is of great importance, for, as one member observed, "The entire church life revolves around the sermons. . . . Since personalities are involved in all of the other programing . . . the sermon is the one beacon light for members to follow."

The Program

The bulk of the program at Our Saviour's follows traditional lines. A single service is held each Sunday except in summer, when another is added, and on Communion Sundays, when a Communion service is held in the evening. Average Sunday attendance is a bit over 400, including anywhere from ten to fifty nonmembers. Educational programs have an enrollment of 225 and a teaching staff of 39 officers and teachers; they serve all ages from preschool into adulthood. Auxiliary organizations include men's and women's groups, choirs, and youth groups.

The auxiliary groups reflect the nature of the congregation. There are three auxiliaries composed of women over forty which meet monthly, a mother's club comprising about thirty-five members, and a twenty-member mission-oriented group. The ushers form the only men's group. There is also a dart-ball club affiliated with the church, of men and women over forty. On the whole, members of the congregation are self-critical when discussing church organizations. They point out lack of "program," "interest," and "involvement" as major drawbacks, and illustrate their criticism by pointing out the disbandment of an adult men's society, in spite of the large number of men in the congregation: "The men of the church failed to keep it alive." Some members extend this criticism to all phases of the church's work, outside of Sunday worship attendance. According to the estimate of one member, only ten men and ten women are deeply involved in the life of the church, even though the church expends much effort to involve the rest.

The educational programs include the Sunday school, with the largest enrollments to be found in the fourth-grade and younger; a released-time school sponsored and staffed by the city's co-operative Lutheran council; and a special Sunday school for handicapped children. About this phase of the work of Our Saviour's members comment favorably, mentioning its "good organization" and "strong curriculum." They also favor the midweek Bible classes which were initiated by the pastor, as well as a monthly Sunday school teachers training course. The special Sunday school for the mentally retarded, another innovation of the pastor, was questioned somewhat at first, but now is pointed out with pride as "the only one of its kind in the city."

Youth work at Our Saviour's includes two Luther Leagues, for younger and older adolescents; a young couples' club with an average monthly attendance of ten; two choirs, for children under nine and for those from ten to fourteen; a children's missionary study group meeting weekly; and, related to the church, Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations. "Juvenile delinquency in [this] neighborhood," said one member in pointing up a major criticism of the youth programs, "has not had any effect on the youth program in the church or vice versa. The kind of youth who come into the youth program of the church are of an entirely different type and there has been really no attempt to take hold of community problems through church programs. . . ."

Faced by a general lack of interest on the part of his members in getting involved with community problems or even in evangelistic work, the pastor has led the way in introducing several departures in the program. They seem minor, but for this particular congregation they are probably the logical first steps. Three of the deacons now stand

at the door of the church on Sunday mornings with the ushers and welcome people. Since the deacons are referred to by at least one member as a "closed lodge," this may be an important factor in developing the "friendly" tone which a downtown church usually needs. An evangelism program has involved about seventy members who go out in pairs to visit prospective members whose names appear in the guest registry or are obtained elsewhere. The congregation as a whole has mixed feelings about this program, considering it generally effective, but they themselves are reluctant to participate and consign this activity to the more "friendly" members, who "have the ability to reach out in a warm way and make other people feel . . . that it is a friendly congregation to belong to."

As can be seen, the program of Our Saviour's faces the major difficulty of overcoming both lethargy and tradition, the general feeling that things are good enough the way they have been or are. That there is self-criticism is a hopeful sign, as is the generally favorable attitude toward the pastor and a willingness to go along with his innovations.

Special Concerns and Problems

As a province apart in the heart of the city, as a widely dispersed congregation drawn together mainly by tradition and a common heritage, Our Saviour's faces more problems than many urban churches. As has been noted, there is much in this church's situation which is unique, but at the same time there are many thousands of Protestant churches throughout the country that find themselves in roughly similar situations.

Finances offer a difficult obstacle to any possible outreach into the community which the church might make. In order to meet its annual budget of \$45,000, an annual membership visitation program seeks pledges in order to form a unified budget—slightly over 500 pledges are made in a typical year, and the members who make them account for almost all of the actual receipts in their envelope offerings. Forty per cent of the budget goes to salaries, another 40 to local expenses, leaving a relatively small amount for support of any new programs. But the financial difficulties are really only a symptom of other problems.

One of these is the dispersion of members throughout the whole city. Most of the members consider Our Saviour's a "Sunday church" and this attitude, coupled with the distance factor, results in a serious gap between the congregation and its program. To take just one example, the Ladies' Aid Society, one of the church's strongest organizations, has a highly selective outreach, due partly to the distances women must travel to attend meetings and partly to a "clannishness" within the

group as well as to the afternoon meeting hour which leaves out working women and those with small children.

And so it seems that the essential problem at Our Saviour's is not one of physical difficulty—other churches face as many or more of this nature—but, as intimated earlier, one of the prevailing "mood" of the congregation. There can be no doubt that part of this mood is self-satisfaction and indifference which stands in the way of the church's effectiveness. Although members may criticize portions of the church's program and even general congregational attitudes, they believe on the whole that Our Saviour's is an effective church. They point out the "good preaching" and "good sermon tradition," "a clean, neat, attractive building," a good visitation program, a location which "makes it easily reached, especially for strangers in the city," the "good working boards," and the "good teaching force."

The pastor disagrees with this estimate and puts the question in terms of responsibility. "This church is not as effective as most," he says, "in its assumption of responsibility in the community or a congregation. . . . The neighborhood has not as yet been effectively reached, in part because of lack of lay interest or concern. . . . There is great difficulty in finding lay leaders in the congregation. . . . Organizations have not been too effective in the church's program, tending to be social organizations with little purpose." A few members see the problem clearly, and one summarized, "The problem is the people. They are indifferent and are not deeply concerned in improving themselves or the church."

At the same time, quite a few members seem to feel that the church *ought* to have some sort of ministry to its neighborhood. Said one, "The church should be a center for Christian community action." Another felt that the church should seek out new members in the community. But the matter of the church's responsibility is evidently a critical and even divisive issue in the congregation. Some members feel that the entire city is the area of the church's ministry, that the needs of the community are taken care of by enough of the area's other churches. But probably the largest number of members are not too concerned with the question at all.

There is still a fairly large Negro population in the area served by Our Saviour's, and the pastor has preached openly on "racial understanding" as part of a concern for the "total neighborhood." So far, the only Negroes in the church are in the Sunday school and junior choir. Incidentally, about half of the children enrolled in the Sunday school are children of nonmembers and live in the neighborhood. Thus there has been no specific effort to bring Negro children as such into

the church. And the subject has never been officially discussed in the church. No one has openly come out against the pastor's stand, but according to many members there would be opposition to a Negro actually joining the church. Overall, the attitude is one of tolerance but not acceptance.

Summary

One lay leader of Our Saviour's remarked that the denominational headquarters "should make an edict as to whether a congregation such as [ours] should be allowed to continue. . . . If they felt that the downtown church is not serving a purpose, we should be told and the congregation disbanded." At the same time, he felt that it was "quite important that we should stay here. . . . A downtown church [has] many problems, but [has] a particular need to meet." This illustrates the situation which Our Saviour's faces. There is some indication that the congregation is beginning to come out of its shell of tradition and lethargy through pastoral leadership. The great needs at this stage are for personal tact in leadership and a more definite idea of what the responsibility of the church is and how to go about fulfilling it. This lays a heavy burden on the pastor and also on the denomination—there are other Lutheran churches in the neighborhood, but Our Saviour's is in the most favorable position to become a true downtown church.

Part 2: A Suburban Church

Before moving on to the neighborhood churches, which form the largest group of urban churches, it is necessary to take a look at just one suburban church. However, this whole study deals with the *urban* church, which would automatically exclude the *suburban* church, since the two situations are quite different. What excuse then for the following chapter?

As will be seen, the setting of the next church is not to be classified as a "typical" suburb. Instead, it is a fairly large town built up around an industry and located not far from a large metropolitan center. For years it was a separate community, and still is in many ways. But in recent years, as the metropolitan area began to mushroom outward in the typical movement to the suburbs, the movement extended up to and even past that community. As a result, the town, although retaining its autonomy and continuing to revolve around its industry, became also a genuine suburb, providing residence for commuters to the metropolitan center.

For lack of any better term, then, this setting is to be referred to as an "industrial suburb," and the church within it is to be considered an urban church of a sort, although possessing many suburban characteristics which will offer some sort of comparison with the other churches included in this study.

Chapter 4

Reformation

Name: Reformation Lutheran Church

Synod: American Lutheran Church (midwestern, rural, German background)

Location: near the center of a midwestern “industrial suburb”

Membership: almost 1,700 baptized (about 1,100 confirmed)

A little more than four miles southwest of the governmental core of a midwestern metropolitan area lies the city of Parker. Bordering the city on the north is the meandering river which was largely responsible for the early development of industry and commerce in the area. In the middle of a new residential area in Parker is Reformation Lutheran Church, one of the larger churches in town and one of the oldest. Recently merged with a neighboring Lutheran church of a different synod, this ALC church carries on a program which is not unique or even unusual, but which is highly effective for its situation. It has learned to serve its entire community because it draws its membership from the community as a whole.

History

Reformation traces its past into the earlier years of the city's growth in the late nineteenth century, a city which has always been synonymous with “the Mill” that lies within its northern boundaries along the river. Parker came into being because of the Mill, and as the Mill expanded and came to dominate its industry in the region, Parker grew proportionately, both in population and area. Up through the Second World War Parker existed as a sort of satellite for the Mill and other nearby industries, and was known throughout the state as the scene of many labor-management disputes and a particularly bitter strike just after the end of the war. Then, a change began to take place.

As the suburbs fanned out in all directions from the metropolitan

area, it was only natural that they reach the town of Parker. As one member of Reformation said, "People have moved out here because of the town's convenience. They like the town, they like the taxes. . . . They don't work in the Mill in Parker, they're employed in the city." "In the last ten years," adds Reformation's pastor, "the population has doubled but the local employment has increased maybe 10 to 20 per cent." Even the physical appearance of Parker has changed—new suburban-type houses dominate the scene over the older, more modest homes of long-term residents.

Reformation Church has been alert to the changes taking place and has survived and prospered, while even some secular institutions—the local newspaper and movie house, for example—have gone out because they refused to recognize the existence of the newcomers. The community's overall social pattern is not at all what it was even ten years ago—neither is Reformation. Its willingness to integrate new and old residents was embodied by its merger several years ago with a church made up primarily of white-collar commuters and their families; in the past, Reformation was a "blue-collar," industrial workers' church. Under the perceptive guidance of its pastor, the church was relocated in a newly developing residential section.

Through these moves, as well as through a consistent effort to serve the entire community and attract a widespread membership, Reformation has changed from a congregation held together by ethnic, cultural, and economic bonds into a body which fairly represents the present makeup of the city. In the process it has become one of the most prominent churches in Parker. It is now looked on as "a welcome asset in the community," said one member, who doubted that this had been the case in earlier years. The church is now known for its active program, the community leaders in its congregation, and the recognized community leadership of its pastor.

Environs

The entire incorporated municipality of Parker, with its 18,000 inhabitants, may be considered the "parish" which Reformation shares with fourteen other churches, three of them Lutheran. The churches reflect the varied backgrounds of the people who in earlier years were attracted to the Mill.

Early residents included mostly central and southeastern Europeans, among them Germans and ethnic Germans, Czechs, Poles, Rumanians, Serbs, Austrians, and Hungarians, as well as a lesser proportion of Scandinavians. Most of them were already accustomed to menial labor and were naturally drawn toward work at the Mill. Even with the

current influx of suburbanites, church affiliation statistics for Parker indicate the earlier situation: one-third of its population is Lutheran, another third Roman Catholic, the rest other Protestant and Eastern Orthodox except for a very small number of Jews.

Three of the fifteen churches are Roman Catholic, one of them the largest church in Parker. (Reformation is second largest, followed by another Lutheran church and then the other two Roman Catholic parishes.) There are two Orthodox congregations, an Assemblies of God church, and seven other Protestant churches, two of which are Lutheran, each with a membership of about 400.

Approaching Parker from one direction, one sees the typical suburbia, dotted uniformly with new homes, green and newly landscaped lawns, and newly constructed churches. Here may be found the suburbanites—the young families with occupational ties in the city. Here also is Reformation Church. Approaching from any other direction one sees the industrial city—the Mill, the old business section surrounding Ohio Street, the older residences on the Heights above the river. It is obvious that the population of Parker is not integrated geographically; there seem to be almost two separate communities within the city limits. Thus any integration in the sociological sense must be intentionally sought after.

On the whole, Parker is considered a “good” area in which to live, even though it is a relatively old industrial town. It impresses people with families as a good place to bring up children. In addition to several parochial schools, there are five public schools of high quality, as well as a town-sponsored recreation program. One member explained the educational situation: “The people in Parker have a fierce pride in their schools and I think this stems back to the European immigrants [who] came with the attitude that ‘I didn’t have a chance but my kids are going to have it.’” At any rate, the influx of new residents has not changed this characteristic of the town; in spite of some opposition from the Mill, a school bond proposal has yet to be voted down in Parker.

Physical Facilities

Recently completed, the new church building of Reformation is in a contemporary design which is in keeping with its suburban surroundings. Ultimate plans call for a sanctuary seating 700. There will also be offices, parish house, educational facilities, and a youth center.

Composition of Congregation

As has been said, the congregation of Reformation represents both

the old and the new in Parker. Thus the statistics on membership are highly interesting. Out of the baptized membership of 1,700 about one-third are children under fifteen (about the same percentage as in the town as a whole). Six per cent, slightly above the town's average, are over 65—otherwise, almost every age grouping parallels closely those of the town. However, Parker has a slightly higher number of men than women, since many single men work at the Mill, while Reformation has slightly more female members than male.

Although persons of German and Scandinavian background predominate in the congregation, many more nationalities are represented. Early members were largely ethnic Germans from Poland, Russia, and south-eastern Europe—at one time, twenty-seven nationalities were to be found in the congregation, and the number is probably not less today. Ethnically and culturally, Reformation may be said to mirror its community more than most urban Lutheran churches.

Approximately half of the employed members of the congregation are industrial production workers, a majority of them semi-skilled or unskilled workers and laborers, the rest foremen, craftsmen, etc. The next largest group is comprised of white-collar workers, especially those in clerical occupations. Less than 8 per cent of the total are in technical and professional occupations, one-third of these as teachers. The occupational distribution of Reformation's congregation again roughly parallels that of Parker, although including a somewhat higher proportion of clerical workers than the town.

For the most part, members of the congregation are accurate in their own estimates of its composition; they see it as a workingman's church with a good number of white-collar workers and very few doctors, dentists, and lawyers. The comment of one—"I think we're just ordinary"—fairly well describes both the old and new elements of the membership. Several members hold positions of leadership in community affairs, either as officers in some of Parker's service organizations or as officials in the local union; in addition, a few members are among the elected city officials. The congregation also includes officers from four of the parent-teacher organizations as well as five of the town's six Scout leaders. Thus Reformation may certainly be considered to be represented in, without monopolizing, community leadership.

Old members do not seem to resent the influx of new residents but instead feel that the latter both improve the community and strengthen the congregation. They notice that the new residents are better educated, are in a higher income bracket, have more children, and have a higher percentage of Protestant backgrounds, but are in other respects the same as the old residents.

Lay Leadership

Altogether there are 256 persons in positions of congregational leadership, including 58 Sunday school teachers and officers. Composed of several constituent boards with special areas of responsibility, the church council is the most important body of laymen in the church. The thirty-six members, both men and women, meet once a month to hear reports on the component boards' four areas of responsibility: the facilities and financing of the church; the spiritual and organizational life of the church; the educational program; and denominational relationships. Although some members believe the councilors to be representative of the congregation, the pastor said, "I think we are disproportionately light in industrial production workers. He does not consider this a "glaring weakness," and feels that it will be rectified by pointing it out to the nominating committee. The age span of council members is quite broad, but most of the members are middle-aged—from the late thirties to the early fifties.

The pastor thinks highly of the council: "Its stronger points are its willingness to assume responsibility and leadership." He cites also its "openmindedness" and the "initiative and vision and ability" of several members who exert more influence than the rest. The members of the congregation also seem pleased with the council. Said one, "Intelligent, independent thinking is probably one of their strong points. They're not afraid . . . to get up and state their piece." And another, "They get things done."

The Pastor

It is apparent from comments by members of the congregation that the pastor has been the central figure and guiding instrument of Reformation in the past several years, a time of crucial decision for the church. A middle-aged man without any sort of unusual background or training for a specialized situation, he has nevertheless measured up to the demands of his job. He is the son of a Lutheran pastor and says of his own entrance into the ministry, "Let's say I just sort of drifted into it." He has had several other parishes in the West and Midwest, most of them difficult and demanding.

He attends to his duties as pastor both in church and community more than eighty hours a week, thirty of which go to administrative work. He feels that this work is necessary but wishes that he could spend more than the twelve hours a week he currently uses for study, reading, and sermon preparation. About ten hours are used for making calls, a little less than that for congregational, denominational, and community meetings. Time spent in counseling is irregular from week

to week, consuming sometimes twenty or thirty hours a week, sometimes none at all.

As in most of the congregations in this study, the pastor's sermon is considered the core of the church's life. Members of Reformation speak highly of their pastor's preaching, pointing out among other attributes its relevance and edification. Without talking down to his people he directs his attention to "the man who is industrialized—the fellow who puts nut A on bolt B," in the words of one member. He uses "language and a line of reasoning which is above that normally associated with that type of job. . . . He is trying to use the Word of God to permit them to be happy in their work. . . . Nothing could be more discouraging than screwing nut A on bolt B all day long. I think he is primarily giving these people the religious and spiritual help that it will take to let them lead a full life." The pastor uses his sermons for educational purposes as well, preaching on liturgy, church organization, and church history, for example.

About his own preaching the pastor said, "I strive to lay down a proposition and then try to point up that proposition and convince people of the correctness of that proposition." Realizing the importance of the sermon to his members, he said, "It's a teaching agency, something that ought to edify and challenge, call for a decision, . . . stimulate people's thinking. . . ." That the pastor's aims and the members' appraisal coincide indicates that he is successful in communicating with them.

The pastor's involvement in community affairs is known and generally appreciated by the members of Reformation. Apparently he has influenced almost every area of life in Parker, although, as he himself says, "Most of the leadership I exercise in this community would be through personal consultation with people who are in positions of leadership," including local city officials. He has been a sympathetic and vocal spokesman for the community's industrial workers and in matters of social welfare.

Thus it is clear what the pastor means when he describes himself as a "realist." He feels that the minister and the church should be "willing to accept the sinner as he is and never in any circumstances look down on him or have a condescending attitude toward him." This involves a certain humility and a firm conviction in the power of the gospel, which is able "to use human beings, scoundrels though they may be."

The Program

Looked at superficially, the program at Reformation is typical of

that in Lutheran churches throughout the country. What departures have been made seem minor but are really indicative of the spirit which pervades the church; they promise a bright future for the role of the church in its particular environment. The formal program, including the worship services, education, organizational life, and visitation, is led by the full-time staff of two pastors (the associate pastor is from the merged church), secretary, and custodian. Honorariums are given to the two organists and the choir director.

From 40 to 50 per cent of the adult membership attend one of the three worship services conducted each Sunday, along with an estimated ten to twenty nonmembers. Communion is offered once a month at all three services, on Ash Wednesday, and during Holy Week, with an average attendance of 450 to 500, 400 of whom take Communion. Practically all of the confirmed members commune at least once a year. Evening services are held during Lent, attracting an average of 450 persons.

The educational program is large but, as some members noted, is lacking in some respects; groups not reached by the program include much of the adult membership, especially retired members over 65, adolescents beyond confirmation age, and unmarried high school graduates. The Sunday school has an enrollment of 500 and an average attendance of nearly 350, with the highest concentration in the younger ages up to the sixth grade; the adult Bible class has only fifteen members. During the school year, released-time classes are offered for grades four through eight, during the summer a vacation Bible school is held. Seventh- and eighth-graders attend confirmation class.

A relatively low number of members take part in the programs of a wide variety of auxiliary organizations. According to many members, better programing is needed to increase participation in several of them. The organizations include two women's groups, each meeting monthly, one in the afternoon, one in the evening, as well as a men's club, two groups for adolescents, a small young adults club, three choirs, two Scouting groups, and an organization for people over 60.

As Reformation is transformed from an industrial workers' church into an essentially suburban church through its active recruitment of new members, much attention is paid to the evangelism programs; at the same time, older members are not being neglected. Recruitment is carried on by interested individuals as well as by the formal programs. One organization assigns members to watch certain blocks in the community for new residents.

Of the church's program the pastor says, "I do not agree with some of my fellow ministers that if the people come together just to drink

coffee and dunk doughnuts it doesn't work to the glory of God. I say that this can be done to the glory of God if it permits them to get the sense of belonging and to get better acquainted with one another." Thus the program of Reformation, without any major innovations, is apparently adequate for the most immediate problem facing the church—that of integrating different kinds of people. The program also seems to enable involvement in the community. A minor innovation in the worship service may be significant here: the ceremony of baptism has been made an integral part of the Sunday service in order to counter the anonymity which pursues both the industrial and suburban community. "I have tried to point out," the pastor explains, "the meaning of the title that is bestowed on the child in baptism, [that] of a child of God . . . that this stamps him with an individuality and a personality and is worthy of recognition, and how modern mechanization deprives us of that, but it doesn't take away the need."

Special Concerns and Problems

Since the program at Reformation is not especially geared for a particular situation, it is clear that the church's effectiveness depends on the attitudes and activity of the members. The problems they face are not unique, even though the setting is not an ordinary one. To be effective in these circumstances there must be deep involvement in church activities on the part of members, especially in the recruitment of new members and the consequent problems of integrating the old and the new and meeting various sociological challenges.

The pastor and members of the church agree that in recent years an increasing number of members have become deeply involved in the life of the church. One factor responsible for this movement is undoubtedly the pastor's insistent preaching and teaching "of the relevancy of the gospel to modern-day living and to the here and now." Of course, there must be some sort of follow-up, and outlets for increased participation and leadership must be provided. "One of the greatest sins of preachers," said the pastor, "is to constantly be telling people about the great joys of doing something in the church and then not giving them anything to do. And this is a real problem for the administration of a church—to find really meaningful things for all men to do." This explains the large number of people in positions of church leadership. There are also outlets beyond the circle of the church. "One of the great strengths of this church," said one member, illustrating another kind of involvement, "is in its members in the Mill. This is a rough industry . . . and if there is anyplace where the church can make a showing it's having good, substantial, solid members

cast into this tough picture. . . . We have men in supervisory positions down there . . . [and] the men themselves when they joined this church were remarkably changed, and such a man has influenced his whole department. There are other men down there in the working forces who have spread their influence. . . .”

As to what lies beneath the involvement of one member and the lack of it in another, the members themselves are rather hazy; the pastor, however, feels he knows at least a few of the deeper motivations. “These people that are active in the church,” he said, “might find fulfillment of that desire to be recognized as individuals in the church. If they have hidden hungers of the soul because of lack of exercise of their creative abilities, [they find] outlets for whatever abilities [they] may have and find satisfaction.” Many of those not actively involved are hindered by “a conviction that the church is irrelevant, that it’s a pie-in-the-sky deal . . . that religion is an insurance policy on which you collect in eternity.”

Involvement is somewhat reflected in the church’s financial statistics. In order to meet the annual budget of \$60,000, well over a third of which goes to debt retirement, pledges are made by all but a fraction of the congregation and a financial canvass is conducted once every three years. Over half the total comes from people between the ages of 35 and 64, while only one-sixth comes from those under 35—a cause for concern among some members. Concern is also expressed about the overall financial picture in view of recent and planned development of church facilities, but no one seems deeply worried.

Any recruitment program requires at least some idea of aims and limitations. Although relocated in one of the newer neighborhoods, members of Reformation do not feel restricted to that particular area; the “parish” is considered to be the total community. “We’re a Parker church,” said one member, “and we’re primarily interested in all of Parker. We moved here to make it easier for people to come here. . . . I can’t say that we’re singling out the people who live next to the church.” Most of the members feel that Reformation should make an effort to recruit new members, although pointing out that a rather small proportion of the congregation engages in this activity. One member attributed this reticence to an embarrassment in discussing religion and the lack of a small-town atmosphere in Parker. He also felt that only one out of ten new members was previously “unchurched.” However, most members feel that it is the responsibility of Reformation to reach the “unchurched”; otherwise, they articulated no special qualification for new members. The pastor agreed with this, but laid down one restriction: “I don’t think we ought to proselyte those who are actively par-

ticipating in their present churches. . . . I think [the members] are pretty much in agreement with me."

Little or no friction seems to have resulted from the integration of old members and new and many speak of the congregation as being "all about the same." What differences have been noticed are implied in statements that the new members have contributed favorably to church life. Noting the "general upswing" in religious interest throughout the country, one member said, "I believe that the type of people we're getting in here as a group now are responding more than the type of people who were here before." Said another, "They are extremely susceptible to any program which will help them improve their own problem as well as the problem of the community. . . ." The pastor feels that features of the worship service have been improved as a result of the new type of member. He also noted that it was almost a necessity for one of the pastors to join the Rotary Club.

The question of whether or not Reformation should accept Negro members is largely academic, since Parker is an all-white community as the result of restrictions laid down by an early manager of the Mill, noted for his anti-Negro sentiments. His influence in the town has lasted until the present day, and although many Negroes work at the Mill none yet live within the town limits. Nevertheless, about two-thirds of Reformation's members feel that the church should admit persons of all races. Most of them are not even conscious of the restrictions that exist in town. The pastor has never preached on the subject but has not avoided the subject in discussion. He said, "I thought I could accomplish more by letting it come up in this way naturally than by preaching about what terrible people they were because W. A. Smith managed to instil an anti-Negro clause in real estate agreements. After all, they didn't have much love for W. A. Smith either."

Summary

The recognition by the pastor and, to a large extent, the congregation of Reformation that the most acute issue they face today involves the pressures of industrialization and the urban life in general on the personalities of its people is an important factor in the church's future prospects. It is not a minor recognition, for the church might well have decided that its setting freed it from urban problems, especially when the town took on many characteristics of the suburb. It is now coping with the real needs of its people—the need for a "sense of belonging," the anonymity of being a number on a pay envelope, and the impersonal associations of an urban, industrial order.

Part 3: Neighborhood Churches

It is almost impossible to make any generalization about the next category of urban churches. Neighborhoods which lie outside the downtown area of the city were originally the equivalent of today's suburbia—that is, the residential area of the city. As the city grew, the “best” residential areas usually remained on the perimeter of the city and therefore kept moving outward, farther and farther from the center of the city. But what of the neighborhoods left behind? The specific answers to this question are almost as numerous as the neighborhoods themselves.

In almost every case, however, they became what is known today as “changing” neighborhoods. The change could be from having primarily residential characteristics to primarily industrial, but this does not show the whole picture. The major change has involved the type of person still living in the neighborhood and those who are about to or are already moving into it. In most cases this kind of change has racial or ethnical overtones.

In the past, many neighborhoods were “pockets” of particular ethnic groups, and the churches which served them were ethnically oriented. In the case of the Lutheran church, this usually meant people of Scandinavian, German, or other northern European background. What happens to these churches when the “change” takes place? And what is the church's responsibility now in its new kind of neighborhood? The four churches studied here will perhaps supply us with some of the answers.

Chapter 5

Zion

Name: Zion Lutheran Church

Synod: Augustana Lutheran Church (primarily midwestern, Swedish background)

Location: residential neighborhood, six miles from the center of a midwestern city in a highly transient port-of-entry area

Membership: over 900 baptized (almost 600 confirmed)

As one travels out from the center of the city to the vicinity of Zion Church, he passes dozens of industrial and residential neighborhoods—rail yards, mills and factories, packinghouses, and truck terminals, as well as the various residential “colonies” of ethnic groups, “Little Italys,” “Little Mexicos,” and so forth, many in a state of flux. About six miles out is Kenilworth, a neighborhood of nearly 100,000 residents, which stands as almost a microcosm of the city at large, so diverse are the ethnic and racial characteristics of the community. And only a few blocks from Kenilworth’s shopping district, which is second in importance only to the city’s central business area, is Zion Lutheran Church. It is an old church that grew with the community, serving those residents of Kenilworth with Swedish background, providing them with a church “home,” a place to come together to worship with friends and neighbors from the “old country,” or at least those with ties there. Today the situation has altered radically. Kenilworth is a changed and changing neighborhood, and Zion has embarked on a program of racial integration, for better or for worse.

History

For sixty-five years Zion has been in Kenilworth, the last fifty-five at its present location. One year before Zion was founded, Kenilworth became a part of the city at large, having existed previously as an independent suburb. Native Americans, Irish, Scandinavians, and

Germans dominated the population in the early years, but since then there have been sizable groups of Scotch, Welsh, Dutch, Jews, Greeks, Lithuanians, and Italians. While certain parts of Kenilworth have always been known for their transiency, others are remarkably stable, and no one ethnic group has predominated since the early years. By the turn of the century the community had matured and in another thirty years had reached a population of 85,000. The city itself had been a sprawling metropolis when Kenilworth was annexed, and today is a vast urban center in which a neighborhood like Kenilworth is known as a rather "old" part of town.

There have been Negroes in the community since the 1880's, but only since World War II has there been any large influx, as more and more escaped from the overcrowded, congested inner zones of the partially segregated city. Thus the diversity and contrast which have always characterized Kenilworth became even more intense.

In its early years, Kenilworth was called the "Suburb of Churches," because of its many Protestant churches, which reflect the nature of its early native American population. With the coming of European-background residents, even more new churches were built, especially Roman Catholic and Lutheran. By the 1930's there were sixty churches in the community, more than in any community of comparable size in the country, it was announced with pride. After the Second World War the situation changed as a result of the Negro migration. The older churches moved out and sold their buildings to all-Negro congregations or, if they did stay, they no longer could be considered community churches since they served widely dispersed congregations. Even so, the actual number of churches in the area increased. And some of the older churches, among them Zion, moved toward an integration of the new Negro residents within existing congregations.

Zion held its first services back in the nineteenth century in a rented store-front, bringing to the Swedish immigrants the gospel in their own tongue. It became established and grew, but always remained primarily a Swedish church, until in the two decades between 1930 and 1950 the Swedish language was dropped gradually from the services. During that period the number of Scandinavian-born persons in Kenilworth dropped from 3,500 to less than 1,200. And in 1954, the first Negro members were received into the congregation.

The subject had been under serious discussion for several years, from the time when a boy in the Sunday school asked if he could bring his Negro friend along with him. There was, and is, opposition from a sizable portion of the membership, but the deacons voted almost unanimously in 1954 to admit the first Negro member. On the

whole, what progress has been made in this respect has been due to the diligence of the pastor.

Environs

Kenilworth is unique not because it is undergoing a sociological change or because of the tension and even violence that has accompanied that change; its uniqueness lies in its amazing diversity. It is a study in contrasts, with its comfortable middle-income houses and apartments only blocks away from dilapidated housing, its handsome new shopping facilities not too distant from blighted commercial streets, its many amusement houses and facilities contrasted with its lack of social service resources. There is a great deal of strife and violence on the racial question; at the same time there is organized effort toward social harmony and racial integration. Kenilworth's schools are overcrowded, but at the same time it has an unusual number of aged residents and retired couples living alone. And the "Suburb of Churches" has one of the highest delinquency rates in the city. These contrasts all deal with extremes, of course; an accurate picture of the community lies somewhere between them.

City renewal agencies have designated the area around Zion as a conservation area; they hope to freeze the "change" of the neighborhood and preserve the physical aspects of the community which are not yet blighted. There is also discussion of redevelopment programs for blighted sections. (At the same time—another contrast—there are private groups and individuals who are extending every effort to exploit the racial situation and the physical blight.) The immediate neighborhood of Zion, as defined by the church, includes 22,000 residents who live in a variety of dwellings—frame and brick houses and bungalows, duplexes, and multi-family apartments. There is a continuing trend to increase the number of living units by converting single-family houses.

Through the neighborhood of Zion, so close to the business center, pass tens of thousands of nonresidents every day—shoppers, passers-by, store and business employees, and people drawn to the places of amusement. This sort of activity, along with the increased motor traffic on the streets, has naturally had a detrimental effect on the area as a residential district.

Major ethnic groups among residents are native Americans, Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians, as well as the increasing proportion of Negroes. In Kenilworth as a whole, the statistics are revealing and probably represented in the smaller area of Zion's neighborhood: in 1930, the population was 1 per cent Negro; in 1950, 10 per cent; since

then, the Negro population has tripled. Generally, the German and Swedish populations are moving out to the suburbs, while the Irish population has experienced an increase. New elements to appear have been Puerto Ricans and southern white in-migrants, still in relatively small proportions.

Among the effects of the change in the neighborhood have been a lowering in the median family income for residents in the area, and a swelling of school enrollments. Both situations are attributed by members of Zion's congregation to the influx of Negro residents, and in both cases they are right. In the city as a whole, median family income was 41 per cent higher among white families than among nonwhite, a fact probably related to employment practices in the city. In Kenilworth the average family income of a nonwhite family is reported at \$3,000, that of the community as a whole, \$3,443. The total enrollment of the four public schools closest to Zion increased by 40 per cent between 1950 and 1957. This statistic is slightly misleading, however, for the present enrollment is only 6 per cent higher than in 1937, when the "older residents" had children of school age. Thus there is little foundation for the generally held belief of Zion's members that new residents have unusually large families; what increase there is stems primarily from overcrowded housing.

In the immediate neighborhood of Zion are sixteen other churches, including one Roman Catholic, one Greek Orthodox, two other Lutheran, and the rest other Protestant denominations, especially Methodist and Baptist. About one-third of the residents are non-Lutheran Protestants, a slightly higher proportion than in the city at large. Lutherans are also better represented in this area than in the whole city, with 12 per cent, while Roman Catholics, with 33 per cent, represent a lower proportion than in the city, which has been predominantly Catholic since the mid-nineteenth century. Of the remaining residents, Jews make up 3 per cent of the area's population, those not affiliated with any church, 18 per cent.

Physical Facilities

Located near the hub of Kenilworth, Zion is served by easily accessible transportation facilities and commercial parking lots are made available to the church on Sundays. Its location is so conspicuous that it is well-known in the community, even though no attempt to publicize it is made. The fairly old, red brick edifice, called "beautiful" by many of Zion's members, has a relatively large sanctuary seating 500; five additional rooms are available for educational and other parish activities.

Composition of Congregation

In 1955 the total baptized membership of Zion was reported at 935 members, 630 of whom had been confirmed. This represented somewhat of a decline since 1945, when total membership was around 1,100, with 830 confirmed. Of the present total, 54 per cent are female, and women over 45 make up 17 per cent of the total membership. Men over 45 represent less than 9 per cent of the total, well under the proportion of this age group in the community. In fact, the proportions of all males, of all age groupings over 20, and of women from 20 to 44 are considerably lower in the church than in Kenilworth. Older women and children 14 and younger make up the difference.

Included with the predominantly Swedish background membership is a Negro element comprising 5 per cent of the total adult membership, and about half of the Sunday school enrollment, even though the Negroes have only been admitted during the past three years. And Negroes represent the larger share of total membership accessions during that period.

Over half the working members of the church are in white-collar occupations; of these, clerical workers are the largest group, making up one-third of the total number in the congregation. Craftsmen, foremen, operatives, and other skilled and semi-skilled workers account for another third, while only 3 per cent of the total are service workers. In relation to the church neighborhood, Zion has a higher proportion of white-collar and skilled workers, a lower proportion of semi-skilled, unskilled, and service workers.

The geographical pattern of the residency of members reveals the integration process which has been taking place, as well as the changing nature of the church neighborhood. About 13 per cent of the members live within a half-mile of Zion, another 13 per cent between a half-mile and a mile. Living more than two miles away—that is, outside of Kenilworth—are 45 per cent. The Sunday school is markedly different: 70 per cent of its enrollment comes from within a half-mile of the church, only 8 per cent from beyond the two-mile radius.

Lay Leadership

Headed by a full-time staff of four, including the pastor, a secretary, an organist-choir director, and a custodian, forty-eight members of the church hold positions of leadership, of whom seven hold two or more offices concurrently. Significantly, less than 16 per cent of these trustees, council members, and Sunday school teachers live within a mile of the church, compared with 26 per cent of the total membership.

The congregation has mixed feelings about its council, but the

statement, "I guess they are good," is a typical judgment. Council members themselves feel that they are an effective group, although needing experience and knowledge of the workings of the church. And the pastor expresses his approval of the council, adding that he feels a Negro member should soon be included. However, this is a matter for congregational action, and many members expressed the belief that "new members" (i.e., Negroes) do not have the religious or educational background for positions of responsibility. The frequently expressed desire for stronger leadership may also be seen in the racial context, in view of the facts that the pastor was the prime mover in integrating the church and that eight of the nine council members supported him.

Members of the council do not feel that the distance they live from the church is a hindrance to their work, although "winter's bad weather" occasionally made it difficult to get the men out to meetings. Thus regularly scheduled meetings are often held in members' homes and followed by "a short social session, which is enjoyable and promotes better fellowship," according to one councilman.

The Pastor

Zion is the second pastorate for its pastor, a man in his mid-thirties who comes from a small community in the North-Central states and was schooled at a Lutheran college and seminary. He left his first church, a mission congregation, partly in order to continue his post-graduate studies at a university near Kenilworth, since he is interested in becoming a teacher.

It was his strong stand throughout the church's integration "crisis," along with his preaching on the responsibility of the church and its people to the community, which led to the acceptance of Negro members. The congregation realizes this, and recognizes his participation in such community groups as the Kenilworth Urban Renewal Committee. Added one member, "He works with so many other groups, I can't name them. . . ." Some members feel that he spends too much time in community affairs, not enough in pastoral affairs; this viewpoint has some justification. There is strong expression of positive reaction as well as negative against the pastor and his work. It was pointed out that "he's challenged us to overcome our prejudice" and that he "took a strong stand in a progressive service to the community." Council members feel that he is "a guiding hand" in decision-making, but not "a dominant leader."

Naturally, the pastor is disturbed that there are "some members who are leaving the congregation because Negroes and others are being welcomed into the ministry of the church." This he attributes to a

failure to understand the purpose and meaning of the church, and he points out that there have been, on the other hand, striking changes of attitude "in a number of instances."

The Program

There is little out of the ordinary in Zion's program, and if it has any unique aspect at all it is that the traditional activities have been extended to include people whom many churches of the area exclude. The church secretary compiles lists of prospective members from various sources—visitors to the church, parents of Sunday school members, and house-to-house visitations. These are used by the pastor, while lay members are occasionally given the responsibility of calling on members whose attendance has been poor. Non-Lutherans desiring to join the church are given about ten hours of instruction by the pastor and then welcomed personally into the congregation by the deacons at the first worship service they attend. The various auxiliaries then invite them to join their programs.

Two services are held each Sunday morning, with an additional one in the evening; average attendance is only fair, with 112 at the first service, 61 at the second service, and 70 at the evening service. The Sunday school, with an enrollment of 189, has an average attendance of 115; only children up through the ninth grade are provided for, with the heaviest concentration in the nursery and primary departments. Other children and youth programs include two choirs, with average attendance of 15 and 28, a Luther League serving about 40 young people, and Scouting programs with about 100 participants. Adult auxiliaries include a Women's Guild meeting twice a month and attended by an average of 30 out of the 80 members, who are all 25 or over, a men's brotherhood of 25 members which is attended once a month by an average of 12 men, and a senior choir numbering 14.

Special Concerns and Problems

In its present situation, by far the most pressing concern of Zion involves its relationship to the community, especially the "newer" elements of that community. To be plain, the problem is one of racial and cultural integration, with heavy overtones of the question, What is the church's responsibility to its community? Zion has made certain positive moves, but the various attitudes of its members show that many obstacles are yet to be overcome.

Most members of the congregation have an accurate idea of the overall make-up of their church's neighborhood. They see it as a "semi-residential area" which is "to a large degree commercial," a crowded residential area with many nationalities and races represented. Prac-

tically all of them realize that theirs is a changing neighborhood—changing, that is, for the worse. They see the major social problems of the area as racial conflict (“there is tension between the older residents and those who have recently moved in”), juvenile delinquency (“many of the sordid things that attract young people are here”), alcoholism (“taverns are all over the place”), a general feeling of insecurity and lack of safety protection (“the area isn’t safe enough to come to for evening services”), blighted housing conditions, overcrowded schools, and the fact that many people are not reached by the churches.

These problems are attributed by members to various factors—shifts in population are mentioned by some, while others feel that the problems have always existed in the community, and still others feel that Kenilworth’s problems are but features of contemporary urban life, common to any large city. And some believe that the problems have been introduced by “newer residents,” meaning, of course, the Negroes. On the questionnaires, 85 per cent of the respondents felt that the “newcomers” helped make the neighborhood worse than before.

Thus the older members apparently have formed a definite image of the people who are moving into the church’s neighborhood. Many feel that these people, who are mostly Negroes, are less “friendly,” less educated, less interested in the church, have more children and lower incomes than the older residents. Concerning size of families and educational level, they are probably wrong, according to available statistics; concerning friendliness and interest in the church, there is no way to judge, since these are rather subjective matters.

That there is opposition from some members to the racial integration taking place in the church is no secret, although it is no longer expressed openly, and many members consider the “opening of the doors to Negroes” as a major problem. First of all, there is the fact that many long-term members are being replaced by the new residents, for one reason or another, and these “new members—while desirable—do not, and cannot, take the place of members who have attended for so many years and have been thoroughly acquainted with church decorum,” as one member put it. Other factors mentioned are “fears about marriage between the races,” which was minimized by some who pointed out the opposition of the “old Swedes” in the past to any non-Swedish match, which has now pretty much disappeared; and the feeling, probably more widespread, that mixed worship might be approved but that interracial social activities should be avoided. It is interesting to note that no member who was questioned on racial matters expressed opposition to integration, but rather attributed the “silent opposition” to others in the congregation. On the other hand, there was positive

reaction as well: "We've come to the problem, we've hit it, and we're making it work. . . . We hope that it will work better as our prejudice wanes . . . and turns to love."

One more factor should be mentioned in order to give a clear picture of Zion's situation. The pastor has been quite forthright and open in his efforts to make integration successful in the church, but a good share of his attention and effort has been directed toward community affairs and organizations. Granted that this is an important part of his work, there seems to have been some lack of careful and diligent work among the members of the congregation itself. It is impossible to force through an issue like this with a congregation such as Zion's.

Looking to the future, members saw the main needs to be in the context of today's problems, revealing a certain self-examination of attitudes toward the "new members." Concern was expressed to keep hold of the present membership, "keeping them active and, more important, regular in attendance," as well as to enlist new members by "really making them feel welcome" and "integrating them with the 'life' of the church." The desire to avoid the current trend in Kenilworth was also expressed: "We are going to work to keep our church integrated so that it doesn't become all Negro." Possible financial problems for the future were mentioned, although there seems to be no cause for concern at the present time—receipts were the highest in the history of the church in 1956. Apparently the worry is that "newer members may not have as much."

Summary

"To me the church is home," said one of Zion's members, representing perhaps many others. "It's here where I've received all my inspiration. It's the only church I've ever gone to, and it means everything to me." This statement provides a clue to the strength of Zion in the past, but it involves something other than a realization of the responsibility of the church in the community; it is a feeling rather of personal loyalty related to nostalgia and early family ties. It appears in the statements of other members extolling the beauty of the church, the life-long friendships acquired there, the social life surrounding it, and the "roots" which keep them in the church.

And this same strength may be the source for the church's eventual resolution of its problems, for many of the older members have the feeling that the "church has a place here indefinitely," in spite of the changes in the membership. "We must stand our ground," says one. "Continued existence is very important . . . we must minister to the people who live here in the community."

Chapter 6

St. Mark's

Name: St. Mark's Lutheran Church

Synod: United Lutheran Church (predominantly eastern)

Location: the center of an old high-density residential section of a large eastern metropolis

Membership: over 300 baptized (slightly under 300 confirmed)

The congregation of St. Mark's has always been small; "Little St. Mark's" its members call it, with a certain sense of pride. Notes one observer of the church, "To this day the people seem to glory in its smallness." A small church in a vast metropolitan area is no rarity, especially among those Protestant churches which were founded to serve a small ethnic group which found itself surrounded by people with other backgrounds. The neighborhood of St. Mark's has undergone extensive redevelopment since the Second World War, and the church has remained static. It is included in this study as an example of a neighborhood church which has deliberately refused to reach out from its traditional confines to serve the community in which it finds itself. It also exemplifies the need for strong leadership if such an outreach is to be made; St. Mark's has a pastor who claims not to be "a social minister," who is a part-time pastor, and who does not even live within the city where the church is located.

History

Unlike many urban neighborhood churches, St. Mark's has never undergone a major relocation in pursuit of an out-moving constituency. It was founded shortly after the Civil War to serve a relatively small number of ethnic Germans in its immediate neighborhood; at that time, there were twenty-three other Lutheran churches in the central city, all but two of which were German. Today there are twenty-six Lutheran churches in the same area, only a few of which still hold services

in German—St. Mark's is not one of them.

The neighborhood surrounding St. Mark's has had a very colorful history, as a melting pot for the streams of immigrants arriving in the nineteenth century and later, and as a source for a sort of folklore type of popular fiction and entertainment. After World War II a community renewal project was undertaken in the neighborhood to clear its run-down housing and replace it with several mass private housing developments; these now dominate the neighborhood, housing nearly half of its population. As part of this redevelopment program, more than 10,000 relatively low-income people were relocated as their residences were condemned and cleared. Originally designed to accommodate returning veterans, the housing projects are actually used much more by middle-aged, often childless families.

Along with several other churches, as well as a school and a number of business establishments, the old St. Mark's edifice was torn down as part of the redevelopment. The new St. Mark's was built less than a block from the former site; at this time there was pressure from the denomination to disband the congregation, which served to alienate St. Mark's from its parent body and become even more of a closed ethnic group than it had been before, in spite of the fact that the neighborhood now had much greater potential for some sort of outreach from the church.

A definite feature in the present situation of the church is the history of its pastors. The man who served St. Mark's before the present pastor apparently stayed in the parish long after he could be active and effective, and this problem has repeated itself with the present pastor, according to many members of the congregation.

Environs

Forming part of a central city of some two million inhabitants, the community around St. Mark's has a population of 68,000. It is old (dating almost to Colonial times) yet clean and well-kept, and almost all its residences are apartment houses. And the neighborhood is not too far from the core of the cosmopolitan, complex metropolitan area which is one of the nation's largest cities.

The neighborhood's population is typical of a heterogeneous white community; Italians represent the largest ethnic grouping, followed by Irish and then Germans. It is a predominantly middle-class community, and more than two-thirds of the employed residents are white-collar workers. According to the 1950 census, the educational level of its residents over 25 is considerably higher than that in the city as a whole, an average of 12.2 years of schooling completed as compared to 9.6

for the city. Also, the median annual income for families in the neighborhood is higher than that for the city, and rentals too are slightly higher in the area.

The neighborhood's statistics on religious affiliation live up with those of the city as a whole. In the latter, Protestant church members, including Lutherans and Eastern Orthodox, make up 17 per cent of the total population, members of Jewish congregations 7 per cent, Roman Catholic church members 27 per cent; from the standpoint of religious background, it is estimated that 47 per cent of the total population is of Roman Catholic heritage, 27 per cent Jewish, and nearly 23 per cent Protestant. In the neighborhood around St. Mark's, about 40 per cent have Roman Catholic background, 30 per cent Jewish, and 30 per cent Protestant or no church background.

Within nine blocks of St. Mark's are sixteen other churches—four Roman Catholic, two other Lutheran, two Orthodox, one Jewish, and the rest Protestant of various denominations. Six of the sixteen have over 1,000 members apiece—two Episcopalian churches, three of the Roman Catholic parishes, and a Friends' meeting.

Of the Lutherans in the city at large, the pastor of a metropolitan church—not St. Mark's—wrote recently:

All our Lutheran churches struggle to stay alive, view the future with fear and misgivings, and have a difficult time to finance their meager programs. . . . Nowhere else in the country are people so accustomed to change and rapid developments, to new, untried approaches, and unheard-of methods as they are in this city. And yet these same people are shying away from the slightest innovation in their church, and reject emphatically the very idea of progress in their parish. While the work of Protestantism in the city as a whole has been most unimpressive, often reactionary and ineffective, no one stands more clearly and emphatically under this judgment than our Lutheran churches. Most of our churches have felt fortunate if they managed to hold their own, while many are in desperate plight, having lost ground year after year, and some were simply lost.

Physical Facilities

The recently constructed edifice of St. Mark's is relatively small and inconspicuously situated, seating 192 comfortably and surrounded by the new housing projects. Some members of the church realize that there is a need for more space, especially parish house facilities for youth programs and education. Apparently not much planning went into the new building at the time of the redevelopment; now, leading members are saying, "If only we had bought a more adequate piece of land."

Composition of Congregation

An observer of the St. Mark's congregation has written about the members: "The people are urbanites, but not wealthy enough for urban sophistication. They are for the most part long-term Lutherans. Their occupations are diverse, but center in the white-collar groups. They live in apartments and they live near to the church." His judgment is borne out by statistical information.

A large majority of the membership comes out of German background and tradition. White-collar workers represent 71.3 per cent of the employed members of St. Mark's, compared with 67.3 per cent in the community. Clerical workers alone make up more than one-third of the congregation, compared with the 20.6 per cent found in the neighborhood as a whole. Over half the total baptized membership lives within a half-mile of the church; 18 per cent between one-half and five miles; 26 per cent live more than five miles away. All but seven of the Sunday school's enrollment of 57 live within the half-mile radius.

Nearly two-thirds of the members and participants in programs of St. Mark's are women, and well over half of these are 45 or older; of the total membership, male and female, members over 45 are easily in the majority. But in the church neighborhood people over 45 constitute only slightly more than one-fourth of the total number of residents, and women over 45 only 14 per cent. Less than 18 per cent of the St. Mark's membership are under 20, compared with 21 per cent in the neighborhood.

Lay Leadership

In addition to the pastor, an organist, and a part-time custodian, there are thirty-seven different persons in various positions of leadership at St. Mark's, five of them holding two or more offices at once. Of the elders, council members, and Sunday school teachers, only five live beyond a mile from the church.

The same observer reported, "There is a high degree of lay leadership in the church, by force of necessity. Over many years they have learned not to depend on pastoral leadership. All of the major achievements of the congregation were accomplished solely by the people, and without pastoral incentive." And members of the congregation seem to agree with this estimate, taking pride in the "good lay leadership," while making frequent mention of general apathy and complacency on the part of the congregation as a whole.

"We have a very good council . . . doing a fine job . . . everything runs smoothly." These are typical comments on the church council, and the program committees come in for accolades too: "There is nothing

the committees have failed to do. . . . I think the church has kept up beautifully." Thus it is apparent that where members are dissatisfied with their church, they place the blame on the pastor and do not even consider that part of the fault might lie within the organizational structure of the congregation.

The Pastor

It is necessary to deal quite frankly here with the pastoral situation at St. Mark's, which is certainly one of the largest factors in the church's ineffectiveness. Most of the members have definite criticisms of the present pastor's work; when these are compared with what the pastor himself says, a fairly clear picture of the situation should result.

The pastor of St. Mark's is a bachelor, close to 65, and not in the best of health. He serves the church on a part-time basis, over and above his full-time position as a college teacher, and lives an hour and a half commuting time from the church. Although most members of the congregation are rather reluctant to discuss his personality, one said, "He is a split personality . . . the only son of an important clergyman and he followed into the ministry rather reluctantly. He should have gone into the theater or into teaching." And the pastor says of his own background, "Father was a great scholar. . . . I was the only son of a minister. They said, 'Won't you be a minister too?' so I went to seminary. Tried to get a Ph.D. in Latin and Greek. I wanted to teach like my father." It is apparent that he had never made a clear-cut decision to go into the pastoral ministry as a vocation.

Of his sermons the pastor says, "I do not believe in stressing the denominational doctrines. I preach scriptural, not doctrinal." He believes that the sermon "is the most important part of the service," and does not plan his sermons "according to the church year." He says, "I preach the gospel. And I think what interests me will also interest the congregation. . . . I do fundamental preaching. Just the truth. No new-fangled things. I read, but you might call my preaching old-fashioned." He wants his people "to have confidence, hope, and love" from hearing his sermons. "I want them to feel lifted up." Members of the congregation generally regard his sermons to be good, even "well above average," commenting on his effective delivery, the "biblical" nature of the sermons, and his avoidance of "current events" as subject matter. He "quotes poets, writers, historians," and "never repeats sermons," although, according to one member, he "does repeat ideas and clichés." There is criticism of his recent emphasis on death and the "hereafter," but the most significant criticism is heard from several members: "He has never mentioned the social responsibility of the church."

Beyond preaching, the only role of the pastor of St. Mark's seems to be making occasional calls on the sick and shut-in, which he himself says he enjoys doing. Members of the congregation note that he is "not an organizer," and is a "poor judge of character relative to a man's ability or willingness to work." According to one, his feeling is—"Let the council run the church; I'll run the pulpit." They find it impossible to get him to attend meetings, make pleas for money, or give attention to religious education, and he even "leaves council meetings early—stays just long enough to give his report and then is off." He has little contact with denominational activities and meetings, in spite of the urging of his council to do so. On most of these points the pastor makes it clear that he does not feel they are of much importance. As to his unwillingness to help raise funds, he said, "I never touch money. I never ask for money—not because I don't believe in it, but because I can't do it."

A final statement from the pastor. "Ministers are not set off from other people. I do not wear a clerical collar; I wear a simple gown in church. I am not a social minister. I want to be myself. I want the people to love me for myself."

The Program

Strong criticism, spurred by a sense of disappointment, typifies the opinion of a large part of the congregation toward the work of St. Mark's, both within itself and in its outreach to the community. They tend to compare their own church with others in the community and city, and conclude, "Our church is below average." Said one, "St. Mark's Church does little for the immediate community, is not good in evangelism, and doesn't do anything for juvenile delinquency." As for work within the church, the comment was, "Not enough people are interested enough to work for the church."

Activities of the church are fairly limited. Average attendance at the one Sunday morning service is 86, and these are mostly women. Besides a choir of sixteen members which meets weekly, there are two auxiliary organizations for women, two for young people, and a missionary society composed of six men and thirty-four women. The latter meets monthly with an average attendance of twenty-four. The two women's groups also meet monthly, with a combined average attendance of forty-five. The youth organizations serve the age groupings of 12 to 17 and 17 to 30. Apparently these latter are inadequate, for there is much comment by members on the need for a youth program, and attempts to vitalize the program in the past have not been successful. One member said, "They considered having a Scout troop here

once, but couldn't get the leadership. At one time they did co-operate with other churches in the youth program and dances. Obviously, they don't any more."

Also, members talk of the need to get more people active in the working of the church through a good committee system, a project which has already been undertaken by individual members of the church council and which seems to have gained general acceptance.

The evangelism program is given only token attention at St. Mark's, although here again members feel its inadequacy. Lists of prospective members are kept by the pastor and a layman, compiled from cards placed in pew racks, from names of parents of Sunday school children, and from names taken down by those who greet visitors at Sunday worship services. Visitation to prospective members is carried out by the pastor and some lay members, but only to a limited extent. According to the pastor, "most of the members are afraid to go; they are turned out of apartments or people are unfriendly to them." He adds, "I don't have time to go and visit people, especially the people who move into the neighborhood. I should live in the neighborhood." There is no structured welcoming program for new members who do join St. Mark's, and no instruction classes are offered for those non-Lutherans who might want to join.

Members recognize that education and leadership training are major aspects of their program that have been pretty much neglected. The Sunday school, with an average attendance of thirty-three, has seven teachers and offers classes to all age groups, including young people and adults. But the weekday school which was formerly conducted has been dropped, there are no study groups of any kind, and the pastor does not even teach a confirmation class. As for the Sunday school teachers, members say, "Teachers are young and inexperienced and no effort is given to their education," and, "Some of the children are smarter than their teachers." The pastor does not share their concern: "Education does not help pro or con. The important thing is the person's love for children."

Obviously there is a general awareness in the congregation that certain things must be done with the church's program to move it in the right direction. But there seems to be both inability and unwillingness among members to initiate changes.

Special Concerns and Problems

St. Mark's is beset by most of the more serious problems facing the city neighborhood church today, and is bolstered by few of the available strengths. A careful examination of these handicaps would take

up a whole book—and probably should. It is enough here just to point out their essential nature and a few of the lessons which urban church planners might draw from them.

It has been said that "a pastor's faith is really put to the test in the inner city," since he must carefully examine or re-examine his understanding of the church and of his own role as a pastor in the light of conflicting and often hostile forces in the community, without the support of comfortable, familiar relationships. It is a difficult challenge for any man to face, and he should at least be willing to face it, even if he is not completely prepared for every problem. About the pastor of St. Mark's it can only be said that he is not the right man for his position—and this is the church's most outstanding handicap at the present time. He is not concerned with the community around his church, he has no knowledge of the workings of any social welfare resources in the area, and his lax connections with the denominational work as a whole have led to a loss of contact between St. Mark's and the work of the church-at-large.

This is not intended to be an indictment of the pastor—it must be said in order to show the pitfalls of the inner-city pastorate. It also points up the difficulties inherent in the polity of so many Protestant denominations. When a congregation is more or less autonomous, and after personal ties are established between a pastor and groups within the membership, it is almost impossible to replace him with someone who is more suited to the situation.

The pastor is not the only problem in a congregation of this sort—this fact must be stressed, lest there be over-emphasis on just one aspect of the plight of a city church. A major shortcoming of the St. Mark's congregation is its failure either to recognize or to understand its responsibility to the community. For the most part it has been fairly well satisfied with living for its own sake: "We have always worked harmoniously, but haven't done anything in this area." Those who do at least recognize some sort of responsibility often do so in the vaguest terms, which usually indicate an unwillingness to face up to the facts: "The church has a duty to the community at large. . . . It has no more responsibility to a special area than it has to Christians everywhere." And those few who recognize the actual responsibility of their church have no idea of how to go about fulfilling it. This helpless feeling extends even into such "normal" church activities as evangelism and education programs.

It is important that the urban church leader take this insight into account. A sense of purpose cannot be instilled into a congregation merely by exhortation or the prescription of certain specific programs.

Congregational leaders should be given the chance to discuss their views within their own constituency, then given advice and counsel from some outside source. First the air must be cleared and ideas brought out into the open, then the seeds of action implanted. Only in this way can the feelings of confusion and helplessness be replaced by realistic and fervent courses of action. Too often the tendency today is to bypass the resources that lie within the congregation and to prescribe a few quick solutions.

Other common problems of urban churches appear in the situation of St. Mark's—lack of long-range planning for the future, mobility of membership, and the relation of St. Mark's to other churches. The missed opportunity to expand St. Mark's during the redevelopment shows how great the need is to work hand-in-hand with city planning commissions in order to have as much information as possible about the changing shape of the community; there is too much expansion and flux within the modern city to go about planning churches in a haphazard manner. St. Mark's has lost many members to the suburbs, and still loses them; here the only answer is an active evangelism program within the community to replenish and revitalize the congregation—and this program must have proper direction in order to be effective. Members of St. Mark's feel genuine concern that their church is running a poor last among churches of the area; at the same time, they feel that they should work in closer co-operation with these churches, and place the blame for the latter short-coming on the attitude of the pastor.

Some members sense an impending financial crisis "because of the need for acquiring full-time pastoral leadership as well as the need for increasing our physical facilities." Even though recent contributions have been the highest in the history of the church, fifty-seven members made no contribution at all toward either current expenditures or benevolences.

The picture cannot be painted completely black—there are a few signs of strength. Although what optimism does exist within the congregation has little reasonable basis, it should be noted that the strongest and most vital *criticism* comes from the younger members. Nearly everyone points out the "friendliness" of St. Mark's as a strength, along with its "history and great tradition." As has been seen in other churches studied, these can indeed be turned to advantage, but it must be realized that this "friendliness" and "pride of heritage" can produce the tightest sort of parochialism, which would exclude many social and ethnic groups from membership. Certainly a definite prejudice already exists within the congregation. Council meetings have discussed the possibility of taking in Puerto Ricans and Negroes; the con-

sensus is one of doubt that the congregation would react entirely favorably. Members questioned on this point showed the full range of reaction from complete prejudice to acceptance. Here again, open congregational discussion followed by action is desperately needed.

Another strength appears to be the congregation's determination to stay in its present location. Although for many members this is simply a desire to have a church close by or an almost fierce desire that the community should recognize the status of the church (which it does, but accurately), it is also expressed in the following terms: "There is room for the church if it will meet its problems. . . . It is very important that the church continue. If it were to fail the people would congregate in one another's homes. . . . We must plan for a broadened service to our community."

Summary

At least one member of St. Marks has a clear idea of what should be done in the church if it is to have a future: "I would like to have competent pastoral leadership beginning with the church council and moving from there to the instigation of discussion groups on community action, the programs of the church, and church history." A statement like this shows that there is some cause for hope that this "friendly little congregation" will some day become an effective neighborhood church. After the present minister retires, steps must be taken to resolve the basic dilemma of the St. Mark's congregation; self-critical on the one hand, the members must overcome a basic satisfaction with their tightly knit make-up, their feeling that the church is only for themselves and not for the community as well.

Chapter 7

Bethlehem

Name: Bethlehem Lutheran Church

Synod: Augustana Lutheran Church (primarily midwestern, Swedish background)

Location: residential neighborhood about eight miles from the center of a midwestern metropolis

Membership: less than 1,000 baptized (650 confirmed)

The word "integration" too often connotes some sort of vague possibility for the future or a state of affairs which is theoretically desirable but practically unworkable. Especially in the churches this seems to be the case, and in some areas of the country the churches may be the last strongholds for racial segregation. Bethlehem was included in this study because it represents a successful integration of whites and Negroes in a changing neighborhood of a city where racial tensions are often quite strong. The church has, to be sure, had many problems in the process, not all of which are entirely overcome, but by means of firm but reasonable pastoral leadership as well as enlightened co-operation from many lay members, it has succeeded in making the "vague possibility" a reality. Bethlehem has, above all, realized its responsibility toward its community and acted accordingly, a fact which is central to its story; integration is actually only a byproduct of this realization.

History

The inland city whose history Bethlehem has shared since the first decade after the Civil War has been called "a miracle of paradox and incongruity." "Not if I had a hundred tongues," wrote an English visitor to the city in the 1890's, "could I do justice to her splendid chaos." The city was undergoing rapid economic and population expansion at the time, and waves of immigrants poured into the city to provide the

labor for its growth. Among them were a large number of Scandinavians, quick to adapt themselves to American ways and just as quick to build numbers of Lutheran churches where services were conducted in their native languages.

Bethlehem, one of the oldest Swedish churches in the city, was originally located near the core of the city, one of seventeen Lutheran churches in a city of 250,000. The neighborhood in which it lay was essentially a workingman's community, bounded by railways and near industries. Irish, German, and Swedish settlers occupied the community's inexpensive frame or brick cottages and flats and attended its Lutheran and Roman Catholic churches.

Within a few decades Bethlehem grew to well over 1,000 members and relocated in a larger building in the same community. Already it had a program which contained some innovations for the time: it was the first Lutheran church in the city to publish a parish newspaper; it was one of the first to develop a young people's society; the parochial school maintained at Bethlehem provided for children up to the third grade; special efforts were made to serve the large number of Swedish girls employed as service workers in the homes of the wealthy—Bible classes, social hours, and Vespers services were offered them on Sunday afternoons, since they usually had to work in the mornings.

By the end of the First World War most of the Swedish-American population of Bethlehem's community had moved south to the outer edges of the city. Bethlehem had already been the mother church for several new congregations in outlying areas, and the original residents of its community were being rapidly replaced by new waves of immigration—Italians, Croatians, Austrians, and others. Expanding communities of orientals and Negroes were nearby. By 1920 Bethlehem's membership was 250, lowest in its history, and only a few of these still lived in the community. Bethlehem sold its building to a Croatian Roman Catholic church and rebuilt in the area known as Chester Park, some six miles to the south of its former site.

Part of the larger area known as South Junction, Bethlehem's new community was made up of much the same kind of people that it had served previously. Primarily a residential area, South Junction had been annexed to the city near the end of the nineteenth century, and its population was largely made up of former residents of neighborhoods closer to the central city. The churches of the smaller area of Chester Park were mostly Roman Catholic and Scandinavian and German Lutheran. Bethlehem became an important part of the community—its membership gradually grew to over 600 by 1945, and foreign language services had been gradually dropped by then.

Just after the First World War the city experienced race violence in areas where Negroes were moving into previously "white" neighborhoods. As early as 1920 Chester Park had a "scare" when it was rumored that a realtor was planning to make local residences available to Negroes, in spite of the restrictive patterns and covenants which already existed in the community. Residents demonstrated, but nothing happened at the time. Meanwhile, the city's nonwhite population grew from 4.2 per cent of the total population in 1920 to 14 per cent in 1950, with the largest increase coming after World War II. Migration from the South as well as natural increase brought about a situation where, in a strictly segregated city sufficient housing was unavailable to Negroes, resulting in overcrowding and strong pressure to invade neighboring all-white communities.

Following the Second World War such an "invasion" took place in Chester Park. Between 1940 and 1950 the nonwhite population there increased from twenty-three to over 2,300, concentrated mostly in a small area on the north end of the community. In spite of demonstrations and active violence, Chester Park became a changing neighborhood; residents began to move even further to the south, and their churches moved with them or disbanded. In the fall of 1949 the first Negro family moved into the immediate vicinity of Bethlehem, causing the expected emotional demonstration. The pastor of Bethlehem printed and distributed flyers urging Christian conduct to counteract literature being distributed by racist groups. A year later the pastor wrote in the church's yearly report:

Within two weeks of our meeting last year a Negro family moved into an apartment just over a block from us. Since that time other move-ins have occurred and many of our people have become fearful for the future of the community where most of us live and where we worship. . . . It is my belief that if we, together with other Christian people in our neighborhood, will use our influence, we can do much to stabilize the community, decrease the number of white residents who feel they must sell out, and foster amicable and peaceful relationships with our new neighbors.

Under the pastor's leadership the church began to admit Negroes into its Sunday school and membership. In 1951 the communicant membership showed its first decline since before the Second World War, as 40 per cent of the adult membership changed residence, mostly to outside of Bethlehem's vicinity, and transfers reached their highest point since the church had been in Chester Park. But by the mid-fifties the membership had risen again to the highest point since the early 1900's.

The pastor claims that the integration of his church is not, strictly

speaking, an innovation, but only an extension of Bethlehem's historic concern to serve whatever community it happens to be in. Among Lutheran churches in the city (which form its largest Protestant denomination) such action is certainly the exception rather than the rule. It is notable that of the nine pastors that have served Bethlehem, four have later moved into positions of national leadership in the Lutheran church.

Environs

Bethlehem is located near the approximate center of Chester Park, which forms the north and central portions of triangular-shaped South Junction. With a population of more than 60,000 South Junction is not far from the city's industrial south end, where a third of a million industrial workers are employed. Slightly more than 1 per cent of the total population of the entire metropolitan area lives within the boundaries of South Junction, a district bounded by major railways and commercial thoroughfares. The area called Chester Park has a population of over 30,000; its elm-lined streets, brick bungalows, small apartments, and few frame dwellings make it a rather attractive place to live.

No industry is located in Chester Park, although there is some in part of South Junction. Zoning for the community is primarily residential, with the 233 retail stores localized along the major commercial arteries which cut through the neighborhood. A half-mile east of Bethlehem is a modest shopping center (fifty-second in the city in total sales), and two expressways cut through the community not far from the church. New construction in Chester Park has been primarily residential, and some districts in the southwest are zoned for single-family units only.

With nonwhites comprising 7.6 per cent of Chester Park's population in 1950 (probably considerably more today), statistics reveal that there are more differences than just color of skin between the old and new residents. Nonwhites are younger (median age 29.6) than whites in the neighborhood (34.3), have completed more years of schooling (11.6 to 10.6), and live in slightly more valuable homes with higher rents (\$54.50 to \$47.97 a month). However, median family income for nonwhites is considerably lower than that for whites, \$3,370 annually as compared with \$4,216, even though a higher proportion of nonwhites are professional and technical workers. In other white-collar professions, however, nonwhites are proportionately less represented, while much more represented in service occupations and in the categories of laborers and private household workers. This lack of balance between nonwhites' educational level and their occupational groupings

is undoubtedly due to restrictive features of the city's employment structures.

Racial transition in the community has had various effects on educational facilities, housing, and the business life of the community. Schools became more crowded, and additions, as well as one entirely new elementary school, had to be constructed. Between 1945 and 1955 elementary public school enrollment rose by 1,400, a fact related to the relatively younger age of incoming families, the decreasing proportion of children attending parochial schools, and the increase in the number of dwelling units (primarily through subdivision of existing units). In spite of a certain amount of overcrowding of living facilities, standards of physical upkeep in the community have been kept high by the Chester Park Neighbors, a civic action group which replaced the Chester Park Improvement Association, whose sole purpose was to maintain restrictive occupancy. The Neighbors campaign against illegal dwelling unit conversions and sponsor community activities—among their early supporters was Bethlehem Church. Almost all retail businesses in Chester Park have experienced increases in sales above those for the city as a whole; especially eating places, food stores, and liquor stores; on the other hand, drinking places found sales decreasing.

The effect of the racial transition on religious life in the community is one of the more dramatic features in Chester Park's current situation. Of all the thirteen churches in the community at the time of World War II, only Bethlehem and two Roman Catholic parishes remain in Chester Park. All-Negro congregations have bought churches from relocating congregations, including two other Lutheran churches. One of these left its building to be used as a Negro mission, the other set aside the money from the sale of its building for "a special fund [to be] available, in the form of loans, to congregations which are faced with the problem of relocation due to population change." The two Roman Catholic churches, while remaining in Chester Park, have not had complete success during the transition. Church membership and parochial school attendance have gone down, and a far higher percentage of Protestant-affiliated residents is now to be found in Chester Park.

In the city as a whole, before 1945 only a few Lutheran churches had participating members who were Negroes; these were all-Negro churches and not, strictly speaking, integrated. Today eighteen Lutheran churches in the city have at least a semblance of integration. Through the leadership of Bethlehem, more and more Negroes are playing an important role in city-wide Lutheran programs.

Physical Facilities

Like other churches in the community, Bethlehem's building is in keeping with the visual attractiveness of the area. Its seating is adequate, and its thirty-year-old structure is located only a block away from two main thoroughfares. A parish hall, an educational building, and the parsonage are adjacent to the church.

Composition of Congregation

Of special interest at Bethlehem are the characteristics of the "new" members, most of whom are Negroes who recently moved into Chester Park. At present the congregation is about half Negro and half Caucasian; a small number of the latter have, of course, been taken into membership in the past few years, but the fact is that there are extremely few whites either moving into Chester Park or available for evangelism efforts for various reasons.

The new members are generally younger than the long-term members, and almost two-thirds of them are female; over one third of the new members are in the 25-44 age bracket. In the neighborhood of Bethlehem, 53.7 per cent of the population is female, 38.8 per cent is in the 24-44 bracket. There seems to be a fair sampling from the new community represented in the church, although the high percentage of women might be cause for concern.

Professional and technical workers make up 27 per cent of the new members, and 45 per cent are classified as clerical and sales workers and service workers. The older white membership has considerably less representation from all of these occupational groups, but it is much heavier in craftsmen, operatives, and foremen. From what was said in the previous section, it can be seen that Bethlehem is drawing a fair representation of occupational groupings from the new constituency; there are, however, no private household workers among new members and a very small number of laborers. The Negro upper-middle class apparently feels drawn to a church like Bethlehem more than those with somewhat lower status.

Almost all the new members live within a mile of the church, and a majority of them within two to five blocks. Well over a third of the total membership lives within the mile radius, another one-fourth from one to five miles, the rest beyond five miles. And over two-thirds of the Sunday school enrollment lives within a *half-mile radius*, while only 20 per cent lives beyond the one-mile radius. It should be pointed out that some new members—both white and Negro—living well outside the community have been drawn to Bethlehem specifically because of the responsible action it has taken toward its community situation.

Lay Leadership

The church employs two full-time staff-members besides the pastor, a secretary and a custodian, as well as a part-time director of Christian education and a part-time organist. In addition, ninety-six lay members function in the church's leadership, sixteen of these holding more than one office concurrently. Approximately half of the church's lay leaders live within a mile of the church; it is obvious therefore that new members are sharing leadership functions in proportion to their representation in the congregation.

Twelve deacons, five of whom live within a mile of the church, and eleven trustees, two within a mile, make up the church council. There are twenty-eight Sunday school teachers, only eleven of whom live outside the one-mile radius, while the other 45 lay leaders hold posts in various organizations and auxiliaries. The church council is said to be a "cross section of the congregation," which seems to be true from an occupational standpoint; it includes a fireman, a postal worker, a doctor, an architect, a builder, a teacher, a store manager, a factory foreman, and others.

The Pastor

There is a tendency in discussing any of the churches in this study to stress too much the role of the pastor in the relative effectiveness of a church; this is especially true in the case of Bethlehem, where there is no doubt that the pastor's leadership has a great deal to do with the successful integration of the church. It must be remembered, however, that Bethlehem has had a long succession of capable pastors who have succeeded in giving the congregation the theological foundation to understand the changing role of a city church. The church has a tradition of involvement in community affairs; without this, the present pastor would have found events of the past few years even more difficult than they have been.

The pastor feels that his training both at home and in the seminary exposed him to social realities and the relevance of the Christian faith to them. (Certainly this is the exception rather than the rule in many Lutheran seminaries.) At Bethlehem he finds little time for study and research, even though he had a distinguished academic record. His time not consumed by pastoral duties is taken up by community organizations and projects, as well as by speaking on integration and answering requests for information. He wishes he had more time to talk with individual members, but realizes that his time was much more effectively spent talking to prospective members than attempting to persuade old members to stay. His calls are restricted to those with

a specific need or purpose, and he regrets not having more time for sermon preparation and meditation.

Throughout his ministry at Bethlehem the pastor has shown that his primary concern is not to work some kind of "coup" in the race relations field, but rather to exercise the distinct responsibility of the church to the community. He is known in the neighborhood, even by ward aldermen, as a worker for community betterment, and he serves on the community organization committee of the mayor's commission on human relations. In 1951 he led his church to help organize the Chester Park Neighbors, and he is president of the local ministerial association. He has helped organize block clubs dedicated to preserve the community's physical standards, including educational facilities, and they often meet in the church. In fact, as one member puts it, "The church is kind of a community house," and many organizations use it as a focal point for their activities; also, it is a polling place during elections.

The members of Bethlehem are completely conscious of the pastor's community activities and for the most part endorse them. A few speak of him as a "joiner" and speculate that he might put too much time into "things outside of the church like Lions or Park Neighbors," but these are a small minority. Most of them know him as the man who has led them into successful integration and who is instrumental in deterring such social problems as juvenile delinquency. More important, they consider him the one who has led them to see their social responsibilities more clearly.

There is mixed opinion among the membership about the quality of the pastor's sermons, but the consensus is that he would not be considered an outstanding preacher. There is a general feeling that his sermons are solidly based on biblical texts. He "never preached on immediate issues in the neighborhood during the transition of the neighborhood," but apparently gave the members a genuinely prophetic message on which to base their actions and made that message relevant to contemporary problems. In his relations with the members during the transition he led them without being dictatorial and without turning them against him.

The pastor considers race relations "the number one social problem in this country and in the world." He goes on, "I believe the solution lies in Christian people realizing the implications of their faith. If Christians really understood what ought to be done, many of these problems would soon disappear." At the risk of making this section a panegyric on the pastor, it must be said that he has exhibited the deep conviction, the forthrightness, the determination of purpose, the patience and

the understanding of people to help solve this problem in his own area of work.

The Program

Besides supporting and sometimes sponsoring the community activities already mentioned, Bethlehem has a busy program of its own. Two Sunday services draw an average total attendance of 315 weekly, and the Sunday school, serving children from the age of 3 up through the sixth grade, has an average attendance of 141 out of an enrollment of 270.

The church's auxiliary program includes three choirs—for adults, youth, and children—with a total average attendance of fifty-five, a men's organization which meets monthly and draws an average of thirty-five members, and a group of women 21 and over who also meet monthly and have about the same attendance. The young people's organization has forty-three members, and four Scouting organizations are affiliated with the church, serving about 160 children from the community. During the summer a vacation Bible school and day camp program also reaches children outside the congregation as well as within.

Visitation is an important part of Bethlehem's program. Lists of prospective members, compiled from names of church callers and parents of Sunday school and vacation Bible school children, are kept by the pastor; laymen do a great deal of the visiting. This is a rather touchy matter, since "Negro members are a little bashful in visiting white families" and vice-versa, according to one member. Nevertheless, visitation work has a "systematic plan," and is apparently quite effective.

The pastor has a hand in the church's program too, and he does not restrict himself only to those activities which involve community groups. Since there are few social work agencies located in Chester Park, he holds an average of twelve counseling interviews each week. In one year twenty-five referrals were made to city-wide agencies. The pastor also offers classes to non-Lutherans who are about to join the congregation; prospective members receive twelve hours of instruction.

Special Concerns and Problems

Naturally certain tensions between new and old members still exist at Bethlehem—the members would be something other than human if this were not the case. As a former Sunday school superintendent expressed it, "The fruits of prejudice endure long after a congregation is integrated. After the way the whites have treated the Negroes through the decades, it is understandable that the Negro children

should have fears concerning the whites." Thus problems arise in Sunday school, where a white teacher finds it impossible to discipline a Negro child.

Social activities involving church members are often beset by these tensions. Organizations meeting in the church have no problems, since both Negro and white members are used to seeing one another there, but those women's "circles" which meet in homes are still to a large extent "segregated." The pastor has not applied any pressure to make these gatherings interracial, leaving the matter to hostesses' discretion, and some women have wanted to invite Negroes but could not because of attitudes of their neighbors.

On the church council the new members, although often more capable than the old, have a tendency to take the back seat in decision-making, simply following the lead of the older members. This deference reflects a general attitude on the part of the newcomers that they must make a conscious and deliberate effort to be accepted into the fellowship of the congregation. Strangely enough, the Negro members seem more anxious than the Swedish-background members to retain such traditions as the Santa Lucia festival, a wholly Swedish ceremony. Such adaptability may seem admirable, but it does result in the newcomers playing a less important role in the life of the church than they should be.

A gratifying aspect of integration at Bethlehem is that some of the most violent critics early in the process often turn out to be the strongest supporters of integration later on. "Sure, I was stupid like everyone else," said one such "convert." "I said we shouldn't have Negroes in the church." And another, "I had many prejudices, perhaps a few today, but not as before. Today I can work without any kind of ill feeling with my colored friends in the church." Their attitudes seem to be the rule rather than the exception among Bethlehem's present white membership. One of the Negro leaders said, "I feel the problem is nearly resolved. There may be some feeling between the races—but not much."

A church like Bethlehem naturally gives thought to its future, since its present is so challenging. Many members feel that the church will eventually become all-Negro, pointing to the Sunday school as a sign of things to come. But the general consensus seems to be that the congregation will remain integrated, although "it will become more and more Negro," even to the extent of having a Negro pastor. This prediction does not appear to be out of line with current trends, and certainly reveals that members are conscious of the neighborhood church's responsibility to its immediate community. A few members are con-

vinced that most of the remaining white members will leave as soon as there is a change in the pastorate; this seems highly unlikely unless there is a sudden break in Bethlehem's tradition of having strong, effective pastors. [Not too long after this study the pastor did leave, and there has been no appreciable change in the make-up of the congregation since that time.]

A commonly expressed fear of both white and Negro members is that the class level of the community will be lowered and an "undesirable" type of Negro will surround the church. Said one Negro member of Bethlehem, "These people are coming from where they are tearing down apartments and these are the kind of people the residents here wanted to get away from. So often white people think all Negroes are like these undesirables. Most of the latter are from the South." Another expressed the feeling that these latest newcomers would prefer "store-front holiness churches" to "our type of church" and that "an educational job with these people is needed—to educate them to the city." Thus it can be seen that even an unusually successful church is constantly confronted by problems in the shifting urban scene. Bethlehem has succeeded in ministering to middle-class Negroes; now it faces a new challenge revolving around the question of whether the Lutheran church is a "middle-class church" or whether it is for all people.

Very little dissatisfaction with the pastor is expressed by members of Bethlehem, and of course without their active support and willingness to co-operate with and undergird his policies, Bethlehem's situation would not be much different from that of, say, Zion. Apparently they have an image of the pastor which is compatible with the urban situation. No one complains that he does not visit members enough or carry out his duties in a manner more typical of the "old-fashioned" version of a minister. The rural image of the pastor persists in many urban congregations; it would seem that one of the prerequisites for any sort of co-operative action between pastor and congregation which might result in an effective urban ministry is that this image should be erased from the members' minds.

Summary

As in the case of St. Mark's, a whole book could be written about this church which would show step-by-step the factors which led it into its present situation. If St. Mark's is a classic example of the ineffective urban church, Bethlehem could well be set forth as its opposite number. This chapter has given at least glimpses into the story of how one group of Christians courageously and realistically witnessed to their prophetic role in a difficult urban situation. But the impression

should not be left that all of Bethlehem's problems are surmounted and the rest is easy sailing, or even that this church is the ideal urban congregation. New challenges confront it every day, and like any human institution the church has certain failings. Nevertheless, in this study Bethlehem must certainly be singled out as the neighborhood church which has responded most effectively to a typically challenging and treacherous urban situation.

Chapter 8

Trinity

Name: Trinity Lutheran Church

Synod: Evangelical Lutheran Church (midwestern, rural—Norwegian background)

Location: blighted neighborhood, not far from the center of a midwestern city but separated from it by waterways and railways, with highly transient population

Membership: 300 baptized (close to 200 confirmed)

Trinity is a young church, though the building it occupies is old, almost as old as the neighborhood called Grand's Heights, a now blighted area just south of the downtown section of a bustling midwestern city. It is an "experimental church," for it was established under the auspices of the national mission board of its denomination. (Trinity is one of sixteen new National Lutheran Council churches started in this metropolitan area since the Second World War.) When the congregation which formerly used the building moved out and rebuilt in the mid-fifties, Trinity was formed, almost from scratch. Thus far, the "experiment" must be considered a success; even more important, the new church is performing an important function in ministering to the residents of a neighborhood which many churches would not find conducive to their work. As one observer put it, "The church is meeting with a quick response because it fills real needs in the lives of people—the need for worship and Christian service and friendship."

History

The city where Trinity is located lies in the Upper Great Lakes Region, and has always been known as a city built by European immigrants and providing a haven for them in their search for economic and social betterment. A Norwegian visitor in the late 1840's described them as "the tribes of Israel coming into the promised land." Actually,

the original settlement was Yankee, but in no time at all it had become dominated by German settlers, and in the first ten years of its existence both German Catholic and German Lutheran churches were built. Along with the Germans came lesser groups of Irish, Welsh, Scotch, Swiss, Hollanders, Austrians, and Scandinavians, and a few Jews. By 1860 a Czech Catholic church was in existence, and ten years later a Polish Catholic parish as well. Later immigration waves brought mostly Germans and Poles, with heavy representation too from southern and eastern Europe.

By 1920 the city was known as "a veritable patchwork of nationalities." Germans were concentrated in the northwest section and were spread as well throughout the city. Poles dominated the south and southwest sections. In the northwest were Jewish, Bohemian, and Dutch neighborhoods as well, in the south and southwest some Scandinavian communities. Italian, Greek, and Slovenian colonies were located near the core of the city, while to the west lay a concentration of Irish residents. Today these ethnic groups are all still represented, but since the twenties there has been considerable population shift in the familiar outmoving pattern, as well as an increase in Negro (1,000 in 1910 to 21,000 in 1950), Mexican, Puerto Rican, and American Indian populations.

The structure used by Trinity was built in 1892 and used until 1954 by St. John's Lutheran Church, when it was sold to the home mission board of the synod. St. John's was no longer a Grand's Heights church, and the mission board, "eager to strengthen the church's work in the inner city," according to its news release, decided that here they would "put into effect a new plan, an idea for planting a new church in an inner-city area. On the site being vacated by the old church there would be a new congregation, with a new man, new members, and new leaders." Two pastors were called, and in the same year that St. John's left Trinity was created. The rest of its history is the story of its present.

Environs

The city, known for its industry especially in the manufacture of durable goods such as machinery, is also a major lake port and the marketplace for an extensive inland region. Its harbor facilities are being expanded and improved to meet the growth of commerce resulting from the St. Lawrence Seaway project. Industry is concentrated near the city's core, along the several waterways that wind through town and empty into the river at whose mouth the original settlement was built, and along the lake front to the south. Residential

areas sprawl fan-like into the open areas to the north, west, and south.

The city's European heritage is suggested by the names on signboards and houses, by the neat cottages to be found in older German and Polish neighborhoods, and by the dominance of Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches. Within the wider metropolitan area of over a million people, church membership statistics show that there are one-third of a million Roman Catholics, 150,000 Lutherans, 78,000 non-Lutheran Protestants, and 30,000 Jews. There are almost 150 Lutheran churches in this metropolitan area, of which Trinity is one of the smallest.

The neighborhood called Grand's Heights is one of the few where Lutherans are not well represented. Separated by waterways, railways, and industrial districts from the central city, it was known in the past as a moderate-income workingman's residential area, predominately eastern European, especially Polish, in ethnic background. In this city of distinctly demarcated sectors identified with particular social classes, Grand's Heights has always been more remote from the central life of the city than many outlying areas, but at the same time it was a relatively stable community maintaining a respectable physical appearance. The natural aging of the neighborhood, population shifts and decline, and proximity to older industrial districts eventually led to blighted physical appearance and social disorganization.

Today the neighborhood is designated for urban renewal study by city agencies, for, as one member of Trinity says, it is a "poor neighborhood—part of it is considered slums." Nearly all the residential structures were built prior to 1920, 27 per cent of them deemed substandard by the agencies; also about one-fourth of the nonresidential buildings are substandard. Single- and two-family residences predominate, but there are a number of larger apartment buildings. The schools of Grand's Heights are among the city's oldest, and the area lacks sufficient local service agencies as well as public park and playground space.

The population of the neighborhood is decidedly lower-income and highly transient. Almost two-thirds of the residences are not occupied by their owners; transient workers and their families from out-of-town find their way to Grand's Heights. Those in the neighborhood whose incomes rise then quite often move out to a better neighborhood. Chief social problems seem to be broken homes and drunkenness, and many of the multiple-dwelling residences are overcrowded. The immediate neighborhood around Trinity, designated as its parish area, includes 38,000 people. Very few of these are nonwhite, but there are sizable foreign-born groups, including especially Poles, Germans, Yugoslavs, and Austrians.

The area is "well-churched"—within a one-mile radius of Trinity there are some twenty churches. With the lack of public recreational facilities, the churches constitute almost the only social and recreational centers. But there seems to be little concern on the part of most of the churches to become involved in the pressing problems of the residents—the personal problems of loneliness and lack of responsibility. An active Christian Center is able to cope only with matters of recreation and leisure-time activities, especially for youth.

The churches represent the past and present ethnic composition of the neighborhood—there are Polish, German, Scandinavian, Ukrainian, Slovenian, Spanish, and others. St. John's, the predecessor of Trinity, is a large Norwegian church with a widely-scattered membership; it moved to a more central location in order to better serve this kind of constituency. Within relatively short distances of Trinity there are four other Lutheran churches, but none draw many members from Grand's Heights.

Physical Facilities

The more-than-sixty-year-old edifice used by Trinity is described by one member as a "big, old, beat-up church, dirty and in poor repair." The sanctuary seats 450 and is difficult and costly to heat. Many members feel it is a drawback to their evangelism efforts: "People tend to judge a church by its outside to a certain extent. If it's dirty they think, 'This must be a dead-beat church,' and who wants to go to a dead-beat church?"

Composition of Congregation

In respect to age and sex, the make-up of Trinity's congregation differs sharply from that of the neighborhood, for Trinity is a "young" church in more than one respect. Members under 20 account for 56 per cent of the congregation, while the neighborhood is represented by slightly over 30 per cent in this age grouping. At the same time, 30 per cent of the neighborhood is 45 or older, compared with 15 per cent of the congregation. The 20-44 age grouping in Trinity is considerably less represented than in the community. Fifty-five per cent of the congregation is female, the majority between 25 and 44, while over half the male membership is found in the under-20 age grouping.

Less than 3 per cent of the congregation is of foreign birth, but many ethnic backgrounds are represented, including Puerto Rican, Mexican, and American Indian. Over one-third of the membership was born in outlying areas of the state, another one-fourth outside of the state, reflecting the transient nature of the Grand's Heights

population. Statistics on occupation show that white-collar workers are slightly less represented in the congregation than in the community: over half of Trinity's employed members are operatives, service workers, and semi-skilled and unskilled laborers.

Of the baptized membership of 300, over three-fourths reside within a half-mile radius of the church, while only 12 per cent live more than a mile away. Only two of the Sunday school's 136 enrolled children live more than a mile away; 115 live within a half-mile.

Lay Leadership

Because most of the members recruited by Trinity as it began its existence were almost totally inexperienced in church affairs—most had been unchurched for a long time or came from non-Lutheran backgrounds—lay leadership was, and still is, a matter requiring close attention. In an area where the accepted social pattern is quite lax, where people feel responsible to co-operate with others only as much as is absolutely necessary, it is difficult to find congregational leaders. They must be trained skillfully and tactfully by the pastor.

At present, forty-three individuals hold positions of leadership, led by the pastor (the co-pastor resigned shortly before the study) and a part-time organist-choir director. Eight of the forty-three hold two or more offices concurrently. The church council has eleven members, only one of whom lives more than a mile away from the church.

Leadership training has been emphasized by the pastor, with a certain degree of success. There are no professional people among the lay leaders, and the problem was to form "factory workers, truck drivers, and common laborers" into functioning, well-ordered groups. Says the pastor, "The council of three years ago was a council only in name. It was hopeless—we had men who had no intention of finding out what they were supposed to be doing." The pastor learned to take nothing for granted in training his leaders, but nevertheless tried to shift gradually more and more responsibility onto the lay members.

Thus the congregation has come a long way from the time when the pastor was chairman of every committee to the point where now he doesn't even go to committee meetings, and often leaves a council meeting before it is ended. He says, "I try to slip out a little more all the time and make less of the decisions. I speak out on the principles of the church, but when it comes to deciding exactly how they would handle the details . . . it's their business." Members commented favorably on his tact in exercising leadership: "He has tried to stay clear and let the congregation itself make up its mind." "It's not, I'm the pastor and my way goes, but whoever has the best answer." Competent

leadership training and personal encouragement from the pastor have made Trinity's lay leaders adequate to their task.

The Pastor

Trinity's pastor has stated his aims in the parish in this manner: "To be a simple preacher; to walk comfortably among this kind of people, never looking down and at the same time never being down there; and to interpret the Christian faith in a manner which will be relevant to their fairly routine and mundane lives—so that they will be able to see beyond the flat and fit themselves into the whole scheme of things in the Kingdom of God."

A relatively young man with a strong personality, the pastor feels attracted to mission work: "I like this kind of work; I like this kind of people. I feel it would be almost a sentence to take on a big established congregation." At the beginning he was part of a team ministry, and the other pastor was his personal friend. "Because of the problems and the tensions, the immense amount of work, the lack of leadership," he feels that it would have been impossible for him to establish the new congregation by himself. The two men divided their duties: "I did preaching and evangelism, both of us did counseling, he did administration and education." When the synod withdrew financial support, the church was no longer able to support two ministers, and the other pastor resigned.

The pastor apportions his time according to the situation and the season, an unusual approach which seems to be effective. When starting a mission, he spends twenty hours a week calling on prospective members; after a nucleus group is established, those hours go to teaching, training, and administration. Then a "seasonal" plan goes into effect: August and September are used for "pounding the pavement" because "people are in a favorable mood"; administration is the point of concentration for October and November; December is used for planning; January and February are taken up by synod affairs and concerns outside the parish; Lent is reserved for the preparation of lectures and sermons.

In his preaching the pastor has made a definite effort to make himself understood by the people, a fact which is generally appreciated by members. Said one, "He gets right down there and puts it in plain words . . . he speaks that South-Side vernacular we have around here. . . . He always finds something in the Bible to apply to whatever problems we might have." Another, "He preaches straight from the shoulder—doesn't beat around the bush." Of his own attitude the pastor says, "I have become less and less impressed with splitting doctrines down

to the finest detail. At the same time, I am convinced that sound doctrinal basis is essential. . . . I want things said in such a manner that John Doe, sitting in the pew, thoroughly understands it, and that when I talk about God's grace he will know what in heaven's name I am talking about."

The members of Trinity think highly of the pastor—almost too highly, it would seem, when a few reveal that their allegiance to the church would end if he left—and seem to genuinely like him. They feel he is a good counselor on personal problems and freely consult him, an act made easier by the interviewing program which he set up after the co-pastor left. They comment on his interest in each individual—"Here you aren't a small cog in a big wheel"—his "drive," his "business head," his strictness on certain practices.

The pastor himself feels that there are several factors which are necessary to a successful ministry in a neighborhood like that of Trinity. He insists on steady attendance at worship services and a liturgical emphasis at these services—"something they can tie to in their lives," without "emotionalism." He wears clerical garb at all times "as a basis of being identified," feeling that this gives him "more freedom in moving around in the community." Publicity is pointed out as another important factor, for the new church must "deliberately call attention to the fact that it is there"; he has discovered that newspapers "are just as anxious to get a story from me as I am to give it to them." Finally, the pastor feels that it is important to become involved in community affairs, and he is working with others to form an active community group out of welfare workers, doctors, preachers, and local politicians.

The Program

An observer of Trinity commented recently, "The program is particularly strong in evangelism and in education. There is very good follow-up on individuals, spreading of responsibility, and utilization of the people's talents. The counseling program is extensive, including the unique 'family conference' idea. A positive orientation to the immediate neighborhood is, of course, given by definition. There is a sense of adventure, expectancy, and teamwork among the people."

This statement touches on most of the major aspects of the work of Trinity, a special program evolving in a special situation. Evangelism has been a major project from the beginning, and there is no lessening of its intensity, with three or four "campaigns," large and small, underway most of the time. Laymen, especially the leaders, bear much of the responsibility for this part of the program, meeting Lutherans who wish to transfer to Trinity and non-Lutherans who wish to join, and

welcoming new members, putting them in contact with church organizations. At least two member-canvasses are made each year, and letters are sent and visits made to absentees. The church receives a list of all newcomers to the neighborhood from out of state, and letters of invitation are sent to all without any thought of "nationality or race." Members are conscious of the large number of unchurched in the area, and seem anxious to evangelize.

Education also receives a great deal of attention, both in the Sunday services and in various programs. A particularly interesting innovation made by the pastor was a five-minute "Temple Talk" delivered by the pastor before the Sunday service to educate members on such topics as death, baptism, the meaning of the liturgy, and so forth. The members unite in unison reading of the Bible during the appropriate portions of the service, which helps them to understand better what is being said. Sunday school, held the year around, provides 132 children up through the eighth grade with religious education, under a staff of thirteen teachers, who themselves attend classes under the pastor. Two years of catechetical instruction are given, and classes for post-confirmation young people are being initiated. Leadership training courses, so important for Trinity, are offered frequently during the year for church officers as well as Sunday school teachers.

The "family conference" innovation by the pastor, which was immediately popular in the community, increased the already heavy demand for pastoral counseling. For two months he held six to eight hour-long conferences on everyday family problems. The pastor reports an average of twelve interviews a week in the whole counseling program, and in one year thirty-five referrals were made by the church to such agencies as the Social Security office, Alcoholics Anonymous, the police department, employment agencies, family service agencies, juvenile court services, and the public welfare department.

Auxiliary programs include a choir of twelve members, aged 15 to 60, meeting weekly; a women's study and social group with thirty members over 18, whose monthly meetings have an average attendance of twenty-three; a mothers' club, also meeting monthly with eight attending on the average; and Scouting programs for boys and girls not necessarily members of Trinity. In a community where loneliness and purposelessness are major problems, there is a need for good social programs, and the pastor points out that three-fourths of the organizations' energy goes toward meeting social needs, one-fourth toward religious. A youth group, primarily social, is projected for the future.

Average attendance at Sunday morning worship services is 135, 60 per cent of whom are girls and women. Out of 185 confirmed mem-

bers, 155 communed at least once during a year when sixteen communion services were held.

Special Concerns and Problems

As a young, fairly special church in an old, run-down neighborhood, Trinity shares few of the problems which press the majority of urban churches, but, on the other hand, faces some special problems of its own. Finances, for example, a relatively minor concern in the other seven churches in this study, looms as the biggest headache for this mission-established congregation.

The members of Trinity are of a low economic status; in addition, most of them did not belong to any church before they joined the congregation and therefore had no idea of the financial aspects of membership. Early in its existence Trinity embarked on a fund-raising campaign, professionally run, which had almost disastrous results. The lesson was learned: this type of technique is unsuitable for a congregation like Trinity's. According to the pastor, "We got terrific pledges that were never paid; what really happened, 25 per cent of our congregation disappeared in that week. We never saw them again. . . . When a man has not been in a church in forty years and comes for three weeks and there someone is at his home telling him to pledge eight, ten, fifteen dollars a week when he earns seventy, he disappears." It was a year before the question of finances could be brought up again, this time with more caution.

During a recent year 112 pledges were made by members toward current expenses, 96 toward benevolences. This means that 49 adult members made no pledge at all. Total receipts for current expenditures was \$7,893, for benevolences \$887. The approach now is to make a number of small, special appeals, which works much better than the pledge system.

Finances were responsible for the end of the team ministry. When the synod stopped paying the pastors' salaries, members, already pressed by other financial problems such as building maintenance, objected to supporting two ministers. Thus the problem is, according to the pastor, "how to be able to transfer the cost of the team ministry down to the later life of the congregation so that you are actually able to pay for it." For it is in the early years of the mission that two pastors are most needed.

The pastor believes that the mission would have been better off financially by building a small unit rather than taking over the old, expensive structure. But there are advantages in the present situation: spirited volunteer work on the part of members has contributed to

brightening up meeting rooms, and it is perhaps easier to bring new members who might be uncomfortable in a shiny new church into the rather shabby building. There is a "come as you are" feeling in the congregation, and "people have an 'at home feeling' here," according to one member.

The recruitment of new members at Trinity was, interestingly enough, almost forced to be a matter of going out among the unchurched and the non-Lutherans. Members of the old St. John's who still lived in Grand's Heights simply were not interested in supporting Trinity; ostensibly they retained membership in the New St. John's, but actually many became unchurched, and during the first year of Trinity's existence much effort was wasted in attempting to use them as the core of the new church. No reason could be offered for these people's reluctance to come into Trinity, but there is little resentment in Trinity's membership against the old church—members feel that St. John's was simply for a different class of people. Nevertheless, it seems that the responsibility for providing Trinity with a "core membership" lay primarily with St. John's—it should have encouraged its members living in the old neighborhood to join the new church, rather than hope to hold them at the new location.

The members of Trinity and the pastor feel that they are serving the community more effectively than other churches in the neighborhood. Their strength lies in their outreach to the unchurched, their friendly atmosphere, and their willingness to welcome all comers, regardless of nationality, class, or race. "People always mention the friendliness of the church. They know you don't have to be dressed good; you aren't looked down on." Or, "I can bring any kind of person into the church and they'll accept him—a drunkard, a dope addict, a common tramp. . . . They let bygones be bygones and interest themselves in what the man is now becoming."

There are gaps in the church's program and outreach about which members feel concern. There is nothing for "young people past confirmation age," and, since there is a low proportion of members between 20 and 44, it would seem that the church should make an effort to keep its young people active in order to hold them through this period. Also there is a need for a program for old people, who are so heavily concentrated in the community. Of course, additional programming hinges partly on additional staff members, which returns this problem to the area of finance.

Looking ahead, the congregation faces problems other than money. They must continually cope with the general social problems of the area—mobility, overcrowded housing, broken homes, drinking, and

lesser degrees of juvenile delinquency and dope addiction. They feel a special responsibility to minister to the community, as a young, involved church; they speak of their evangelism efforts as almost unique among the area's churches, which they suppose are already "big enough." Maintaining this attitude is one of the concerns of the pastor; he feels Trinity will double or triple in size before too long and wants to be sure it maintains its "small-church" attitude. There will be some integration problems as well—with Puerto Ricans and Mexicans more than Negroes—but Trinity seems better equipped than most churches for this situation.

Summary

It would be unwise perhaps to laud Trinity as the ideal neighborhood church, for it is still a young church, and it did not face the problems of tradition and ethnic orientation that belong to most Lutheran churches in the city. It made a fresh beginning and had initial success along with some rocky moments. It has had to face up to the problems of its community and of its own inexperience in "churchmanship." Even more than in any of the other seven churches in this study, its success has depended on its pastor. But on the whole the future is bright for Trinity, if it carries on the manner in which it has begun and if it is capable of foreseeing future problems.

SECTION II

The Urban Church— Survey and Comparison

The following four chapters set forth, both verbally and visually, the statistics obtained from questionnaires filled out by the adult—that is, communing—members from each of the eight churches in the study. The actual numerical response, along with a complete text of the questionnaire, may be found in the Appendix (p. 199). In this section the figures have been translated into percentages in order that the responses of each urban church to the questions might be placed in comparison by means of graphs.

The concern here has been not so much to form a massive image of the whole urban church as to provide some sort of useful comparison between the various *types* of churches which may be found in our cities. It is recognized that this kind of questionnaire response is not an infallible guide to the thoughts and opinions of church members (for this reason the Depth Interview Guide was used in Section I), but there should nevertheless be some worth in these statistics if they are properly evaluated. Therefore the following chapters include “editorial comment” to fill out the skeleton of bare statistics and evaluate the data coming out of the study. This comment is necessarily brief and fairly general, and thorough, detailed, and profound analysis must await other books and monographs which will undoubtedly result from this study.

One of the realities of church work in the changing city of the mid-twentieth century is the fact that there are different types of environmental situations and different types of churches within them. As we examine in some detail the variations in membership characteristics of these selected churches, it will be possible to notice many of the distinct differences as well as the obvious similarities that exist among these types. The general pattern of comparison in the following chapters will be first to look at the general range of response on related questions for all eight churches. Then the neighborhood churches will be compared with the downtown churches—and the one “suburban” church will also be taken into account. Finally, variations within both the neighborhood and downtown categories will be noted.

The graphs in this group of chapters will list the churches in the same sequence in which they were described in chapters 1-8. To review, St. John's, Immanuel, and Our Saviour's are downtown churches; Reformation is the semi-suburban church; Zion, St. Mark's, Bethlehem, and Trinity are the neighborhood churches.

Chapters 9 and 10 present mostly objective material about the makeup and activities of the churches. The final two chapters venture into the area of opinion and perception in comparing the congregations' own ideas about themselves and their situations.

Chapter 9

Characteristics of Membership

A. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Sex Distribution

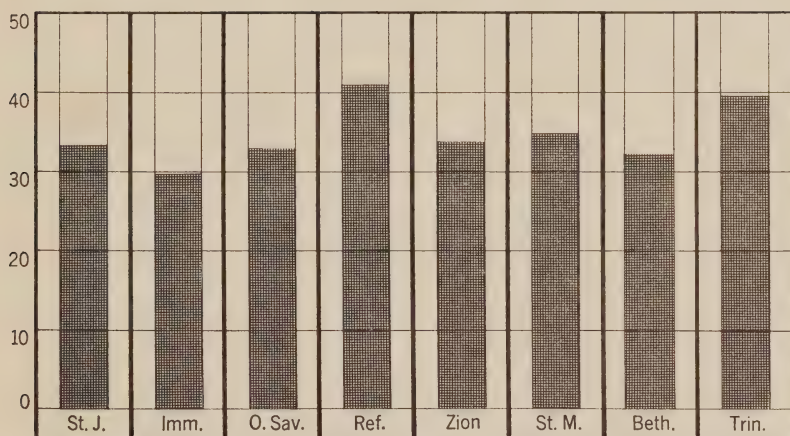


Fig. 1 ■ Percentage of male members (65-5).*

The male membership makes up from 29.3 per cent to 40.8 per cent of the congregations, indicating that there are no significant differences between the different types of congregations in this respect. One might ask, however, why it is that the women tend to be more numerous in the churches than the men. Is it because of the deeper religious sensitivities of women? Has the increase in the number of "career" women had any bearing upon the larger proportion of women in the congregations? These figures suggest that special recruitment and involvement efforts need to be made among male members of the community.

It is worth noting that the semi-suburban congregation, Reformation,

*Code numbers in parentheses refer to the questionnaire (Census of Church Membership) used to obtain statistics for this section of the study. See Appendix for complete list of questions and a tabulation of answers.

has the highest percentage of males in the congregational membership. In view of the fact that the suburban congregational image tends to provide the "image" of contemporary church life, downtown and older neighborhood churches should probably take note of the male-female distribution of their communities. Then they should analyze the differences between their setting and the suburban situation, and reflect on these differences in respect to the programing and outreach in their congregations. It is generally accepted by church planners that suburban communities and their churches tend to have the highest "familiarity"—a higher proportion of complete families. More specifically, a "couples' club" in an urban church will probably not meet with the same response as in the suburban climate.

Age Distribution

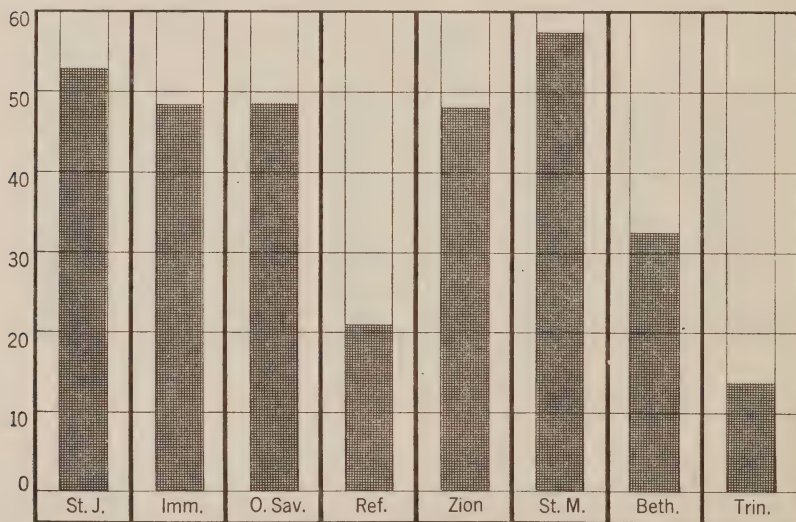


Fig. 2 ■ Percentage of members over fifty (66-6,7,8).

Before the interesting and significant variations on this graph are studied, it should first be pointed out that the questionnaire was filled out by the communing membership of the congregation, meaning that only members 13-14 years or over were tabulated. Thus only at Trinity were more than 3 per cent of the questionnaires returned by members under 15—10.7 per cent. According to the U. S. Bureau of the Census report of July 1, 1958, 23 per cent of the population of the United States were 50 or over; 30.9 per cent were under 15. Since part of the necessary statistics are missing, the percentages given for the churches

are somewhat higher (approximately 30 per cent) than they would be if the entire congregation were counted in.

Even so, these percentages, when compared with one another, yield interesting suppositions. Trinity, lowest on the graph, is not a typical church, and its newness and recent organization tend to reduce considerably the number of older members. Among the other churches the semi-suburban church, Reformation, has the fewest number of senior members. Bethlehem, a neighborhood church, has the next lowest percentage of senior members, and it will be recalled that this church has had considerably more success in ministering to its neighborhood than have Zion and St. Mark's. A high percentage of members over 50 is to be found in the downtown churches, suggesting that older persons are inclined to travel great distances to the downtown churches and that the downtown churches are sometimes situated in or near neighborhoods of older people. The sharp differences within the neighborhood category suggest that those congregations which do adapt to the changing community are inclined to reach out and assimilate more young and middle-aged adults into the congregational fellowship.

B. MOBILITY

Nonurban Heritage

It is apparent from the graph that the rural-urban background of the

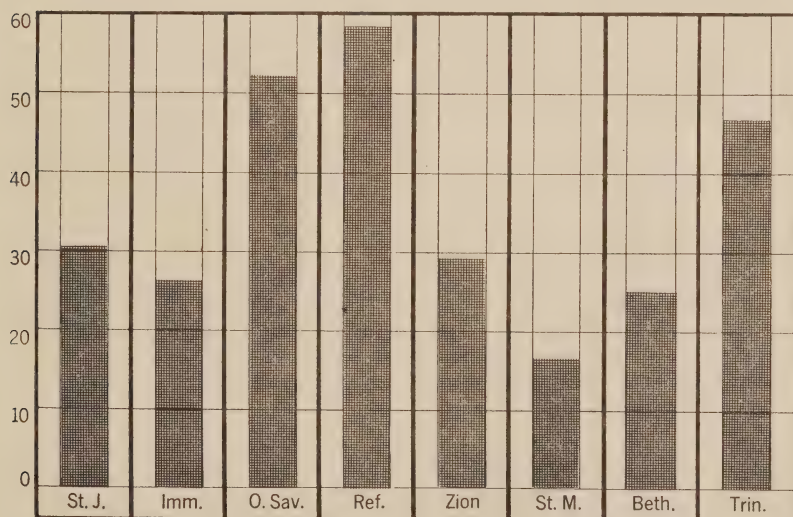


Fig. 3 ■ Percentage of members with nonurban background (farm or town under 10,000 population) (73-1,2,3).

membership is not a deterrent in the adaptability of the congregation to its community. Those churches with the highest rural and small-town background membership—Reformation, Trinity, and Our Saviour's—are situated in the midwest and in cities which draw residents from a strongly Lutheran hinterland; that is, the population of the territory from which many of the people migrate is one of the most heavily Lutheran in the nation.

The significant number of rural-background members in all of these congregations suggests why some critics accuse many of today's urban churches of being little more than transplanted rural churches. The image of parish life set forth by the membership in its congregational life has its roots in the early life experiences of the members. And quite often the members of city churches actually strive to re-create in the midst of changing urban communities the kind of churches and membership-relations which are memorials to far more stable times and settings.

It is a fact that 85 per cent of the growth in America between 1950 and 1960 has occurred in the standard metropolitan areas (cities of 50,000 or over along with their suburban environs); the dominance of rural heritage in our urban congregations is also a fact. Certainly there is not much question that the city church should be dealing with some of the specific effects of urbanization on its people and their communities.

Migration Into City

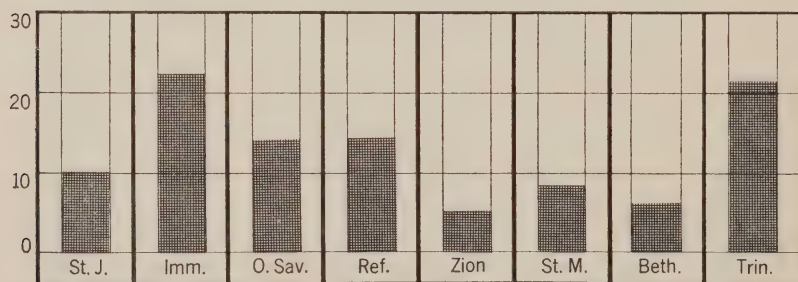


Fig. 4 ■■■■ Percentage of members of five years' residence or less in the particular city (71-6,7,8).

In this age of mobility, with 20 per cent of the nation changing residence each year, congregations should be alert to mobility patterns and their effects. As is generally known by now, the dominant pattern is from rural to urban America, from central city to suburbs, from the

East and Midwest to the West Coast, and from the South to the North. These "directions" are of course generalizations and cannot be insisted on; for example Texas and Florida reverse the South-to-North trend, and a new back-to-the-city movement is afoot in the larger urban centers which are redeveloping central areas.

According to the U. S. Census Bureau, 16.5 per cent of the population changed residence *within* their state during the twelve months preceding March, 1958, and another 3.3 per cent moved to a different state. Of the churches in this study, the most mobile one showed that 22.7 per cent of its members had lived in the city five years or less, while the least mobile showed that 5.3 per cent were in this situation. Obviously, this is not the total mobility story.

With the exception of Trinity, the downtown churches generally have the highest proportion of newcomers to the city. This would tend to substantiate the opinion that downtown or central-city churches serve as "spiritual beachheads" for the new arrivals in a modern metropolis. It would therefore seem that one of the long-range goals of such churches would be to make themselves known in the rural sections and other urban areas from which their city receives its new population. This is one of many instances where downtown churches have a function and should have a strategy which is quite different from the neighborhood and suburban churches.

The relatively high mobility figure (14.5 per cent) for the semi-suburban congregation indicates that, in keeping with general mobility patterns, a substantial segment of the population which migrates into a metropolitan area often settles immediately in the suburbs. Those who follow this pattern have the financial ability to move directly into home ownership and the suburban way of life.

Mobility Within City

Mobility patterns within the urban complex also have an important bearing on the churches. The next graph illustrates clearly the high turnover of population in the various types of urban communities. Generally, the central city or port-of-entry area is one of the most mobile areas. The suburban communities also tend to be highly mobile; the mid-town areas, or those between central city and suburbia, are somewhat more stable. Again generalizations can be misleading—for example, in the very large cities, port-of-entry areas are often located some distance from the central area of the city. The implications of Figure 5 for congregational planning and programming are obvious and numerous.

It should be noted that Bethlehem and Trinity, in the neighborhood

category, have much more mobile congregations than do other neighborhood churches. In view of the community situations existing in all four neighborhood settings, it is safe to say that the mobility rate is about the same in each. Therefore—and this is a rather self-evident conclusion—it is apparent that those congregations which are inten-

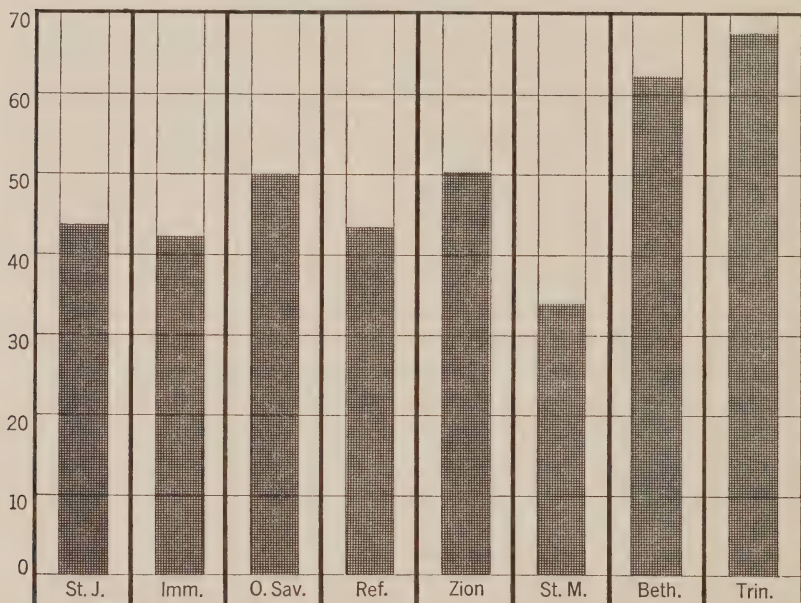


Fig. 5 Percentage of members who have changed residence within the past five years (71-1,2,3).

sively reaching out into their changing neighborhoods to win the newcomer have a higher proportion of "mobile" members, while the less aggressive churches have a more "stable" membership.

Churches should be alert to the urgent need for continuing evangelism in their community as well as for systematic planning toward the assimilation and involvement of the newcomer into the life of the congregation. Far too many urban churches have transplanted the informal, association type of evangelism, effective enough in rural areas, into their urban settings. But in the impersonal, fluid cities of today, churches must systematically and continually evangelize their neighborhoods. "Casual" or "informal" evangelism is important, but it is not enough. As has been shown in Section I, several of the churches tend to be almost unknown in their communities and neighborhoods. How can they possibly serve the newcomer or expect him to come to the

church when he has never even heard of it or been made aware of its presence?

Length of Membership

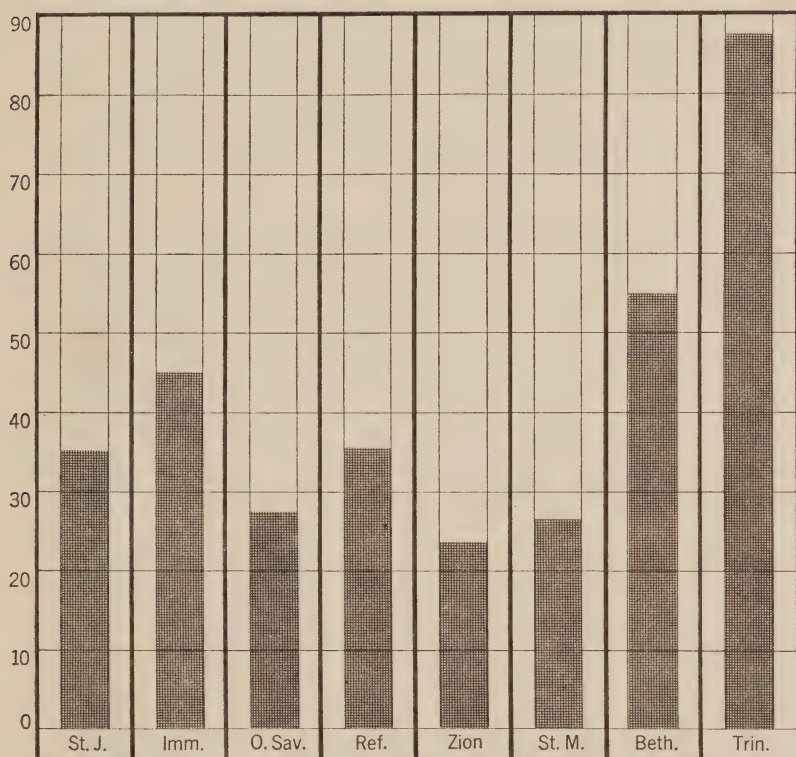


Fig. 6 Percentage of new members (five years or less in the particular congregation (9-1,2,3).

The high figure of 87.1 per cent for Trinity reflects not only the fact that the congregation is only several years old, but also the pitfalls of gathering data through questionnaires—actually, since the congregation was less than five years old at the time of the study, the response should have been 100 per cent.

Of the others, Zion, St. Mark's, and Our Saviour's are grouped together with a lower proportion of comparatively new members. Bethlehem and Trinity in the neighborhood category have higher percentages than St. John's and Immanuel in the downtown category, which might be due to the fact that downtown churches tend to have a scat-

tered constituency which prefers to travel considerable distances to their church and will continue to do so through many residential changes. On the other hand, neighborhood churches tend to be identified with the people in the immediate parish area and draw a larger proportion of membership from the immediate area; thus when a member of such a church moves, he is more liable to transfer his membership than the downtown church member. Once again, the importance of tailoring evangelism efforts to the situation is emphasized—the neighborhood church must conduct such efforts more intensively and more locally than the downtown church in order to keep up its membership.

One of the unresolved problems of Protestantism in urban America is the unwillingness of too many city churches to face the fact of being strictly a neighborhood church. They claim that they “do not want to interfere with the working of the Holy Spirit,” which brings them members from a great distance. Some critics accuse them of using this statement to excuse their refusal to accept responsibility toward the immediate neighborhood. It should also be mentioned that those congregations which develop a fairly stabilized membership in the midst of the highly mobile urban scene might be developing closely-knit, ingrown fellowships which tend to resist and reject the newcomer.

Compactness of Parish

Generally speaking, the most geographically compact parishes in urban America are found in the newest and highest-density suburban communities. The next most compact are found in the older neighborhoods, while the most widely dispersed are, of course, the downtown parishes. Part of the pattern behind this distribution is the age factor; in general, the older a congregation, the more scattered are its members.

In addition, the more homogeneous a community, the more easily the membership pattern can remain a compact one, which helps to explain the compactness of suburban parishes. It is also understandable that, in contrast to the suburban parish, the diversity and heterogeneity of the inner city results in scattered and selective parishes. One of the continuing problems and challenges of the inner-city church is to bridge the gap between these diversities and transform them into means whereby people from all walks of life become “one in Christ Jesus.”

From the following graph it may be seen that the downtown churches, St. John's, Immanuel, and Our Saviour's, have the most widely scattered parishes. The newest of all the churches, Trinity, has the most compact parish, and the semi-suburban church, Reformation, is next most compact.

The size of the metropolitan area and the density of the population within the parish area of the church must be taken into account in evaluating this aspect of the city church. St. Mark's and Immanuel are situated in the same mammoth metropolitan area. Within a mile radius of each of the church buildings is a population far in

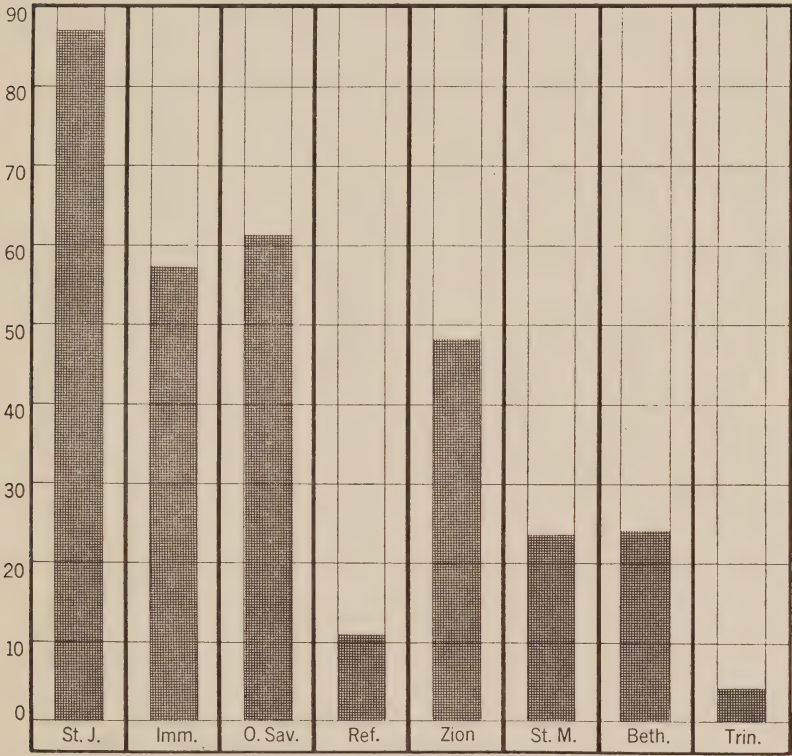


Fig. 7 ■■■■ Percentage of members living more than thirty blocks from church (75-5).

excess of 100,000. In their situation a factor which might be called “psychological distance” appears. Situated in the midst of very high density areas, their memberships must be proportionately more compact than those of churches in much lower-density areas; even if their geographical distribution parallels that of the lower-density parish, they are psychologically more widely scattered, which, if it could be statistically worked out, might raise the percentages listed for St. Mark’s and Immanuel by 50 per cent. In the neighborhood category, Bethlehem is probably more “compact” in the above sense than St. Mark’s, even

though their statistics are equal, and the gap between Zion and Trinity would have to be increased.

One can generalize, then, that the compactness of a *neighborhood* church is more or less proportional to its identification with and service to its neighborhood. On the other hand, the more scattered the *downtown* church's distribution pattern is, the more it reflects its role of serving the metropolitan area parish. Our Saviour's, with a high degree of compactness for a downtown church in a low-density area, does not fulfil some of the normally expected downtown church functions, operating in a sense as a neighborhood church.

Mobility Expectations

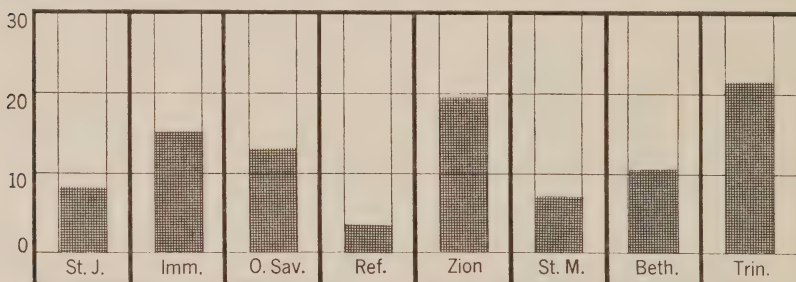


Fig. 8 Percentage of members expecting to change residence within one year (76-1,2).

The variations here can give rise to considerable speculation. Semi-suburban Reformation, with its low percentage of members who expect to move, appears to be the most stable, while Trinity, in a blighted neighborhood of a medium-sized midwestern city, seems to be the most potentially mobile. But Zion is not far below Trinity in this respect. It would be valuable to compare the situations of these two churches.

In the case of Trinity, the response definitely represents a lower-class community and lower-class membership with quite a high proportion of nonhomeowners. This is, of course, not always the case. In some metropolitan areas, particularly in the East, there is a high percentage of nonhomeowners who are definitely not lower-class. At Trinity this response could indicate a high dissatisfaction with present landlord-tenant relationships and therefore the desire to find a more satisfactory arrangement in the same neighborhood. On the other hand, it could indicate a strong desire to find a more desirable community in which to live and an intent to move completely out of the neighborhood. In the case of Zion, the church is confronting an influx of nonwhite population into the community. The 19.3 per cent figure here suggests that

a high proportion of the membership is planning to flee in the face of this incoming population group.

The 10.5 per cent figure for Bethlehem (which has already gone through an extensive process of racial integration) indicates that a level of stability—or at least reduced potential mobility—has been reached. The unusually low figure for Reformation would suggest that in a suburban setting the mobility of inhabitants is determined by external forces such as job changes and the business and industrial organization of America.

The hint is quite evident from the available data that mobility is an established contemporary American phenomenon and that congregations do themselves, their members, and their neighborhood a disservice when they do not face this fact. The above graph suggests that congregations should prepare members for transfer to other churches and assist them as capably and effectively as possible in making this transition. The church cannot sacrifice the spiritual welfare of its members in hopes of safeguarding and preserving the numerical strength of the congregation.

Before moving on to other social characteristics of the membership, it is logical to raise here the question of congregational autonomy as it is practiced in many branches of American Protestantism, the church governmental policy which considers each congregation an autonomous and self-determining unit. There are some quite justifiable reasons for each congregation under this policy to feel that it must show a growth in membership as well as a growth in financial contributions, and that it must have the most capable leadership possible. Thus, in neighborhoods of high transiency where population groups of lower income and social status are entering, the temptation is all the more strong for the individual congregation to try to strengthen its defenses and protect itself for the future.

The defense takes many forms—holding on to members that move out, placing in positions of leadership the most successful business executives (who often live in the suburbs), and attempting to set up a program with wide appeal for those groups which can guarantee financial support. In the end, the lower-class population group often takes over the neighborhood, and the congregation, having excluded it from membership, finds that its only remaining alternatives are to die or to flee. Protestant denominations must discover a means whereby the membership and financial resources of out-migrating population groups can be made available to these changing inner-city churches—

not in a spirit of paternalism but in a deep spirit of commitment and involvement.

C. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Educational Level

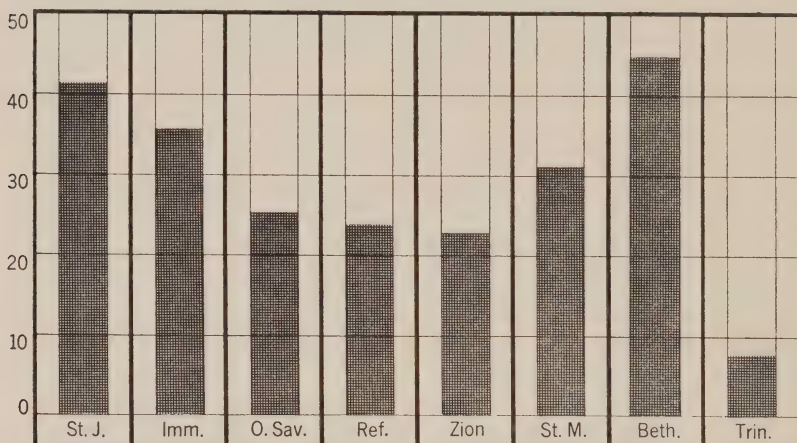


Fig. 9 Percentage of members who have attended college (67-4,5).

According to the U. S. Census Bureau approximately 15 per cent of the population of the United States in 1950 had some college training. There seems to be a propensity toward college-trained membership in downtown churches. This can be seen in the graph, not with Our Saviour's but with St. John's and Immanuel, which fulfil the normal functions of downtown churches and thus tend to attract more members of higher educational background. Their contrast to Our Saviour's and the neighborhood churches can be explained in part by more effective adult education programs, more cosmopolitan constituencies, higher cultural levels in the preaching and music programs of the church, and so forth.

The percentage for Reformation, much lower than in a true suburban church, reveals the "hybrid" character of its community, an industrial suburb populated largely by the factory workers of a single industry. Interestingly enough, the highest education level is found at Bethlehem, which is approximately 50 per cent nonwhite; Zion, which has only a small minority of Negroes and is resisting further integration, has one of the lower educational levels in this study.

Such wide variations in educational level within these congregations indicate similar variations throughout American cities and warrant the

careful study by urban congregations of their changing neighborhoods and constituencies. What are the consequences of higher education? What are the various levels of sophistication in which the preacher can or must couch his sermons? These questions and many others should be carefully answered and the appropriate changes made in programs, worship services, counseling services, and in all phases of neighborhood involvement.

Other questions related to education must be posed to the denominations. To what extent does the extensive training of many of the Protestant clergy orient them to a set of middle-class values and standards of living which are totally foreign to the lower-class community? Does current seminary training tend to prepare men for middle-class parishes and unwittingly reduce their potential effectiveness for lower-class groups? And do the middle-class congregations themselves become outposts of middle-class culture and values in the lower-class communities? Are the churches failing to discover and use the kind of leadership which is present in lower classes by trying to superimpose middle-class values and patterns on them?

Occupational Distribution

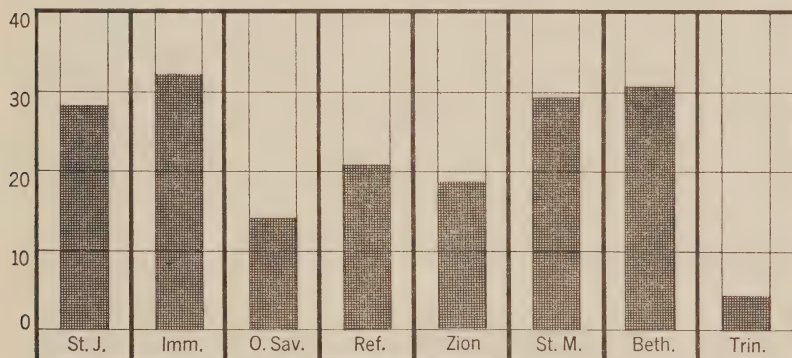


Fig. 10 Percentage of members in households where head of family is professional, technical, or managerial worker or proprietor (70-6,7).

Several factors must be considered in the interpretation of this graph. In spite of its limitations, it does indicate significant variations from congregation to congregation—and, of course, from neighborhood to neighborhood. The questions used in the questionnaire is, "What is the occupation of the head of your household?" Thus, if a business proprietor with a wife and three children who are communing members of the congregation filled out the forms correctly, five responses

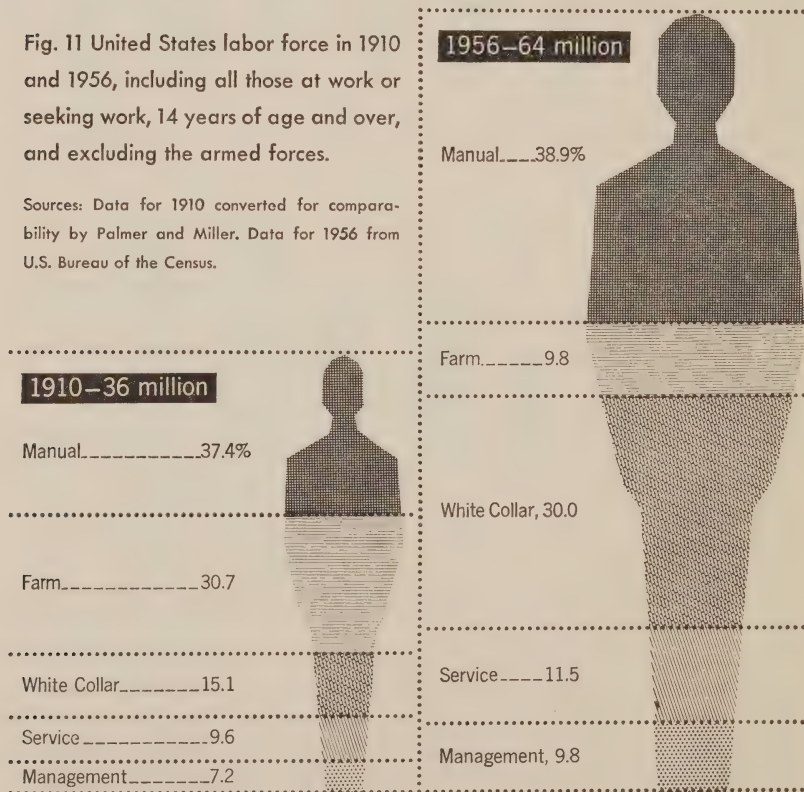
appeared in the category which is used in the graph. This means that congregations with a high "familiness" among persons in this category of employment are weighted toward a "higher" occupational class (See Fig. 17).

For example, St. Mark's and Immanuel, as will be seen later in the analysis, are low in familiness—that is, a high proportion of single and unrelated individuals are members of these churches. Their occupational levels on this chart would be even higher if tempered by the familiness data. But Reformation and Bethlehem, with high familiness, are probably overrated occupationally.

Nevertheless, Trinity's percentage substantiates the generally low economic status of the congregation, and among all the churches there is general consistency of occupational with educational levels. In the comparison of Figures 9 and 10, the unequal job opportunity available to the American Negro is brought out. At Bethlehem 45 per cent of the members have had some college training and only 30.8 per cent have

Fig. 11 United States labor force in 1910 and 1956, including all those at work or seeking work, 14 years of age and over, and excluding the armed forces.

Sources: Data for 1910 converted for comparability by Palmer and Miller. Data for 1956 from U.S. Bureau of the Census.



household heads in the professional/managerial category.

It is necessary to supplement the occupational data from the study with material on national trends. Figure 11 tells the story of the shifts that have been occurring in the occupational composition of the labor force from 1910 to 1956. The "middle class" of white collar, professional, and administrative employees has undergone expansion. There are significant gains in the clerical, sales, and professional occupations. The "semi-professionals" (clerical, sales) have been growing even faster than the professionals—from 1940 to 1950 they showed a 50 per cent increase.

A second major trend is the growth of the number of "organization men" (proprietors, officials, managers)—this reflects the growth in managerial ranks of large-scale organizations in every area of life. A third significant factor is seen in the manual worker category; the "working class" has grown only slightly since 1910 in proportion to the others. A final factor to be considered in this brief survey is the national trend toward an increasing percentage of women workers in the labor force. In 1940 it was 25 per cent, in 1947 28 per cent, and in 1958 33 per cent. Certainly the needs, concerns, interests, and leisure time of the congregational membership are being radically affected by these changing occupational patterns.

To what extent have these shifts in occupational distribution, work involvements, and commitments been considered by urban congregations in their planning and programing? In addition to conducting the regular congregational programs and services in the neighborhood, churches should give additional thought to intercongregational study and discussion opportunities for specific professional and occupational groups. (This is already being done in Europe and, to a lesser extent, by several U. S. denominations in laymen's institutes and "academies.")

Income Distribution

The wide variations in the next graph indicate some of the great dissimilarities between the various churches as well as their environs. To one who is familiar with social characteristics and their variations from community to community and institution to institution, this is doubtlessly "old hat." However, a goal constantly striven for by denominational programers is to develop a single standardized program which is adaptable in all kinds of situations. In view of the differences indicated in this graph, what can the programers say?

The financial patterns and habits of lower-class groups are quite different from those of the middle-class. At Trinity a rather normal, middle-class fund-raising program had disastrous effects. Perhaps part

of the difficulty lay in the fact that the membership was not yet sufficiently committed to the church and loyal to its goals and objectives. But the major part of the problem originated from the fact that the methods and values implicit in the middle-class fund-raising operation were quite foreign to anything the Trinity congregation had either known or been sympathetic to.

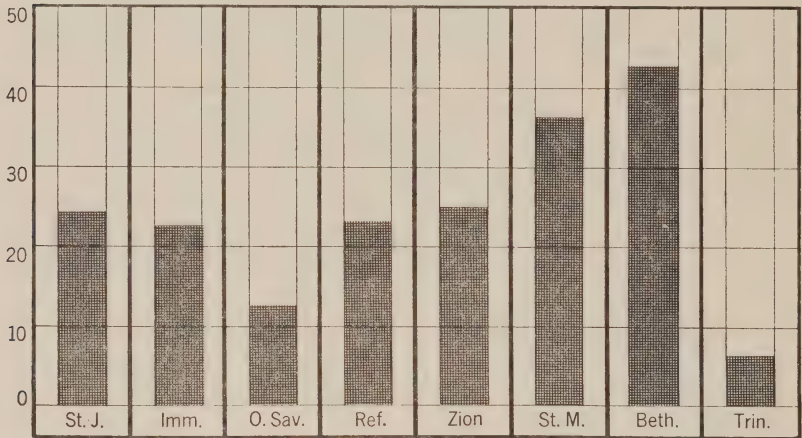


Fig. 12 ■ Percentage of members in families with total annual income of \$7,000 or more (68-7,8,9,0).

The high percentage of 42.5 for Bethlehem is explainable by the fact that many of the families have relatives living with them so that a high proportion of the family units have more than one breadwinner. St. Mark's is probably the most tightly knit and homogeneous congregation in our chart, which is shown in part by its middle-class economic level.

Class Perception

Here the study of membership characteristics moves momentarily into a different realm—self-perception, the image that members have of themselves. Previous sections have documented the distinct differences between the various congregations, qualitatively arrived at and statistically documented. But subjective matters can also help characterize the church memberships.

It is obvious from Figure 13 that Our Saviour's does not possess the degree of prestige and status which is found in the other two downtown churches. Trinity, as might be expected, has no illusions about being middle-class. Bethlehem's high percentage reveals an interesting

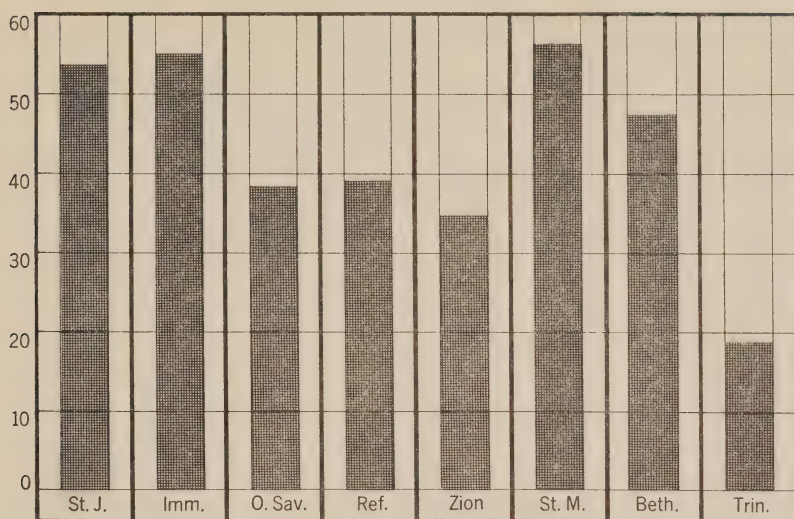


Fig.13 Percentage of members who consider themselves to be "middle class" (69-8).

characteristic of the congregation which is supported by figures in some of the later graphs. The new members seem to adopt many of the symbols and values of suburban culture. Class consciousness and class barriers are quite real in American life and have to be considered in total church programming.

D. ETHNIC CHARACTERISTICS

American Parentage

The considerable range in the next graph gives us no chance to draw general conclusions. It is interesting to note that the congregation in the lowest economic class is the most "American" church in our selection. Comparing neighborhood churches, the data certainly suggests that a high proportion of foreign-born parentage may be a factor in the nonadaptiveness of some congregations. St. Mark's does have a very strong German heritage and orientation, and Zion a strong Swedish tradition until recent years.

Among the downtown churches, St. John's has the highest percentage of American-born parentage, but the adaptiveness of Immanuel is all the more interesting in the light of its low percentage. Part of the success of this congregation is undoubtedly due to its cosmopolitan setting which includes a high proportion of German-background peo-

ple. And within the membership there does tend to be an "ingrownness," a homogeneity which resists those outside. Our Saviour's has a strong streak of national pride, and its ethnic background has often hindered its effectiveness by taking the form of stubbornness.

The answer to the problems raised by national background lies not so much in either perpetuating or rejecting the national customs, tradi-

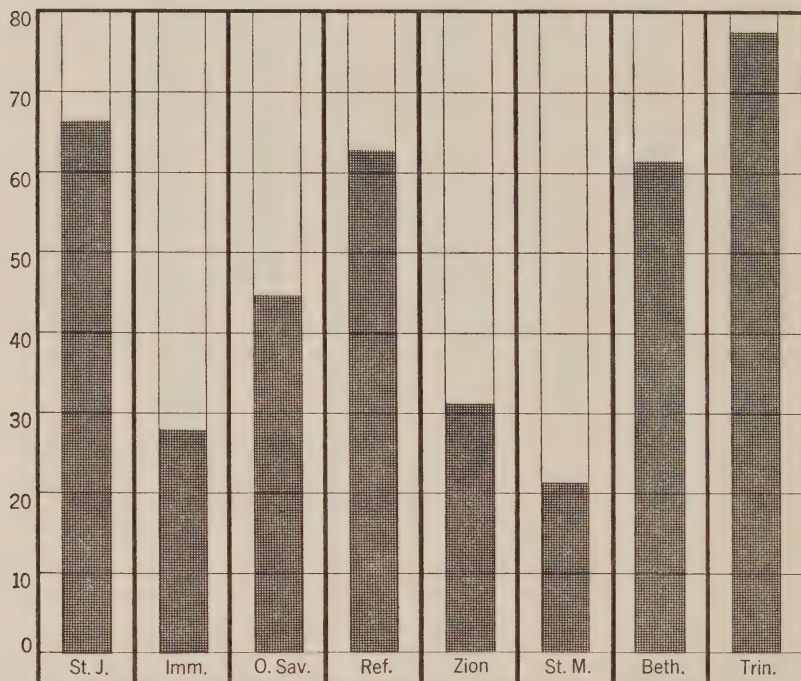


Fig.14 Percentage of members whose fathers were born in U.S.A. (73-6).

tions, and observances, but rather in modifying the close identity which often develops between a congregational group and its cultural heritage. If the ethnic label serves as a kind of status symbol (sometimes as a substitute for class status) to the members, and it often does, then the transition is even more difficult. The church in the changing city neighborhood is compelled to emphasize repeatedly the universality and inclusiveness of the gospel—that "in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek . . . ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

Country of Birth

The variations in Figure 15 are not nearly so great as in the graph above. Immanuel, with the highest percentage of foreign-born, is

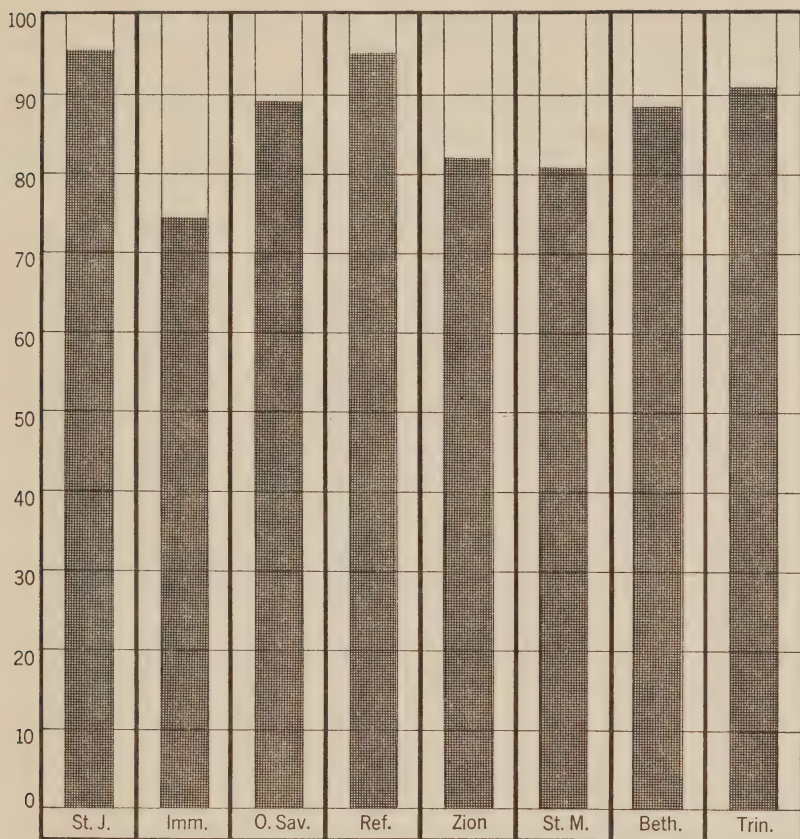


Fig.15 Percentage of members born in U.S.A. (72-1).

located in a metropolitan area which serves as a port of entry to the nation for the immigrant. St. John's, lowest in foreign-born membership, was one of the first of the churches studied here to adapt to its situation. The homogeneous nature of suburban Reformation is reflected in its almost as high ratio of American born.

Two generalizations can be made here: (1) suburban and downtown congregations have the highest percentage of American-born; (2) the downtown churches which deserve the name tend to have a deeper American rootage than a downtown church like Our Saviour's. Among the neighborhood churches, Bethlehem and Trinity are less "foreign" than Zion and St. Mark's. Language barriers are almost nonexistent in today's churches, but ethnic ties can block the outreach of a church almost as much as foreign-language services used to.

E. FAMILINESS

Marital Status

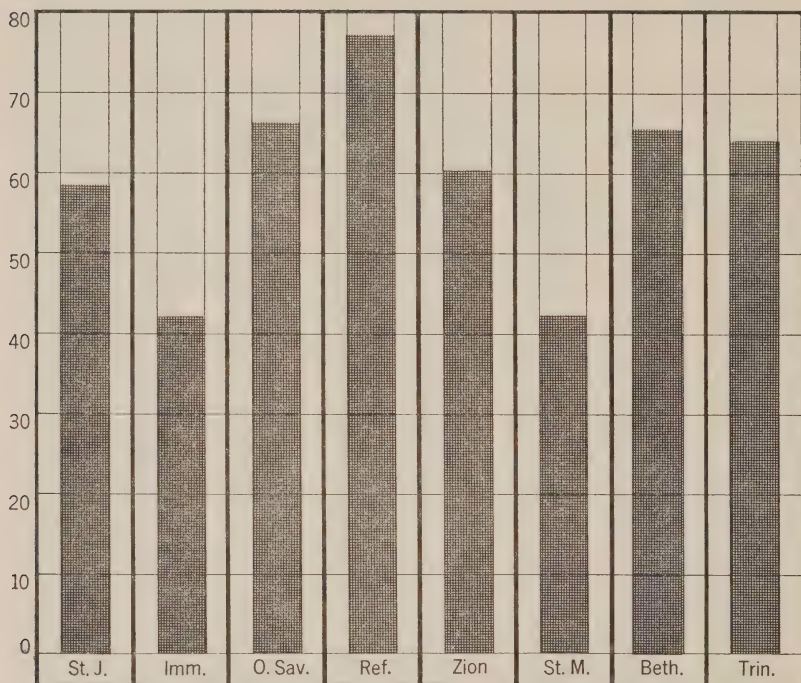


Fig.16 ■ Percentage of married members (65-1).

This graph and the next pertain to “familiness,” already discussed somewhat above. Suburbia typically tends to have the highest familiness rating in the American city. Those people who are single, widowed, or divorced tend to gravitate toward or at least closer to the more central areas of the city.

The churches here reflect a general pattern: the neighborhood churches have a lower familiness than the suburban church and yet somewhat higher than the downtown churches. St. Mark’s and Immanuel, in the eastern metropolis, have inordinately low proportions of married members. The large number of elderly members at St. Mark’s has much to do with this fact, while Immanuel does attract a high proportion of single and unattached individuals from a community of low familiness. Among neighborhood churches, Bethlehem and Trinity have a higher familiness than the less successful churches.

Have denominations perhaps overemphasized the family in the pro-

graming of their churches? Has the planning of individual congregations been related to the proportion of families in the neighborhoods? What should a congregation do with its auxiliaries, services, fellowship groups, study programs, and the like when it is located in a neighborhood with a high percentage of single, widowed, or divorced persons? All these questions must be asked. Granted that the family is an ideal Christian pattern, the gospel must also be effectively brought to those who do not enjoy normal family relationships.

Number of Children

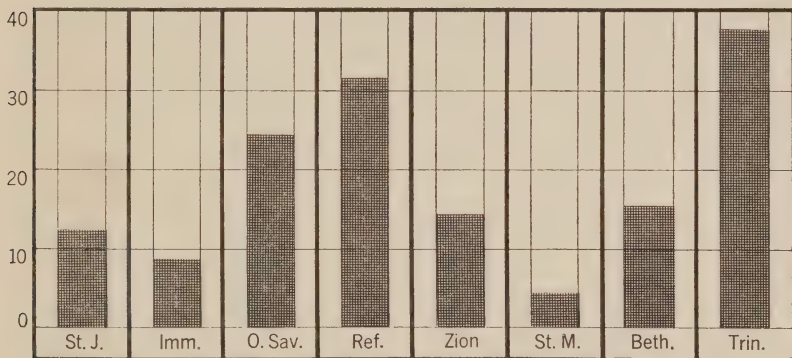


Fig.17 Percentage of members with three or more children (74-4,5).

The low proportion of large families in St. Mark's contrasts dramatically with the high percentage given for Trinity. And in this graph we again find documentation for some of the expected differences of social make-up from neighborhood to neighborhood. Suburban Reformation is second only to Trinity, and the midtown and neighborhood churches generally have more large families than the downtown churches. Our Saviour's reveals its essentially "nondowntown" nature with a percentage higher than that of any neighborhood church, except Trinity.

It is understandable now why St. Mark's and Immanuel have extremely small Sunday schools. At Immanuel there was some talk of discontinuing the Sunday school altogether and assigning this responsibility to a nearby church situated in a neighborhood with higher familiness. A cliché which has helped to undermine the work of many city churches is, "The children of today are the church of tomorrow." Many responsible pastors and laymen have elaborated further: "Unless we have a large Sunday school today we will have no adult congregation tomorrow." This slogan is relevant only in relation to the overall congregational situation. In some communities, as in that of Immanuel,

it is almost impossible to have a large and thriving Sunday school and the greater need is for major attention to adult education and to working with the high proportion of single, elderly, or unattached adults.

By the time "the children of today" grow up and marry they will probably have moved through two or three different communities in the process and will have become adult members in some distant congregation. Therefore, each congregation should examine its own environment and adapt its children's program to that environment. Instead, quite a few city churches are relocating *primarily* as part of a search for a neighborhood where they might have large and "successful" Sunday schools. Much more attention needs to be given in the urban church scene to specialized approaches to particular segments of the population.

F. RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS

Denominational Background

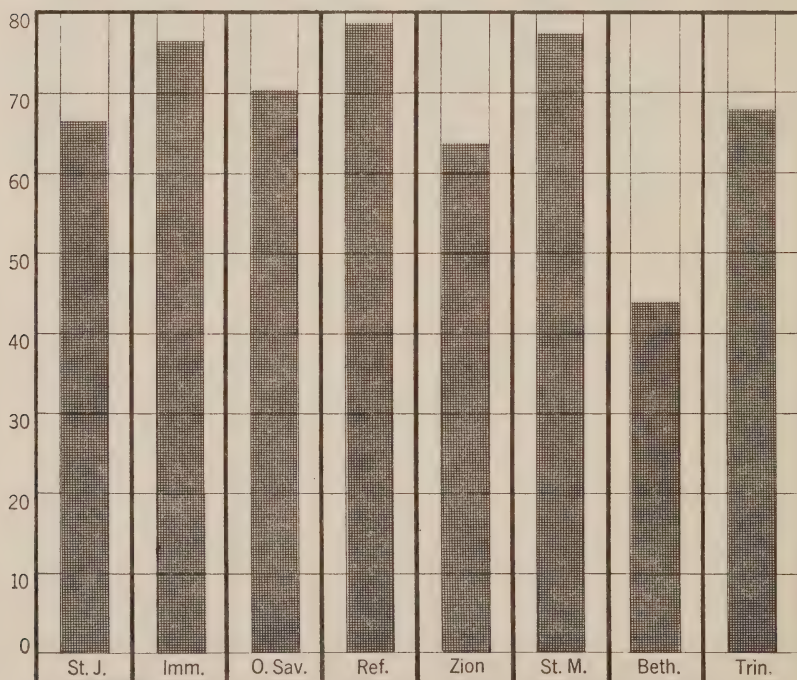


Fig. 18 Percentage of members who were already members of church's denomination before joining it (6-9).

A low figure in Figure 18 would indicate that a congregation is capable of and interested in winning to its fellowship persons of non-Lutheran background. But a high figure does not indicate that the opposite is true—both Reformation and Our Saviour's are in an area which constantly receives a high rural Lutheran in-migration. St. Mark's and Immanuel are in the impersonalized and secularized atmosphere of a high-density area and perhaps would find it difficult to reach any except those with some Lutheran background.

When one considers the high mobility rate of the nation and the complete changeover of population groups in neighborhood after neighborhood it is easy to see that the effectiveness—even the sheer survival—of a congregation will depend largely upon its ability to reach those that are not of its tradition. Bethlehem has been outstanding in this respect. This crossing of denominational lines has tended to be dismissed as of little consequence by church leaders. But the facts of mobility and denominational crossing-over remain, holding many implications for the church today at the congregational and regional, as well as national, levels. Interdenominational co-operation is one of the most significant of these implications.

Chapter 10

Church Life of Membership

It is not enough to describe the congregations of these churches in a sociological context. They *are* churches, and have a special area of activity different in many respects from that of any other organization. In order that conclusions can be drawn about their relative effectiveness in urban settings, a survey must be made of the similarities and differences of "church life" in the congregations.

A. INITIAL CONTACTS

Personal Invitation

Approximately half (49.8 per cent) of all the adult church members in this study were brought into first contact with their churches by some form of direct personal invitation—this certainly documents the importance of continuous and systematic visitation programs in all types of urban churches. The other 50 per cent bring to mind the numerous other ways whereby people in the changing city can be made aware of a particular congregation and its concern for them. Each congregation would do well to analyze just how its present members first became aware of its church. Did they happen to seek out the church and come to a service of worship? Were they referred to the congregation by a sister church? Did they come to know of the church through some particular role that it plays in the community? Did mass media play any part in the first contact? By answering these and other questions, a church can learn how to establish contact with the mobile who is present everywhere in the changing city, and decide on the relative effectiveness of each of the various means for its own particular situation.

It is not too surprising to see that the semi-suburban church in the study brought in the lowest proportion of members through personal invitation. Without necessarily being critical of suburban churches, one can say that in Suburbia the church is more identified with the "way of life" than in the inner city. There must be much more intensive "seeking of the lost" in the inner city than in the suburban setting.

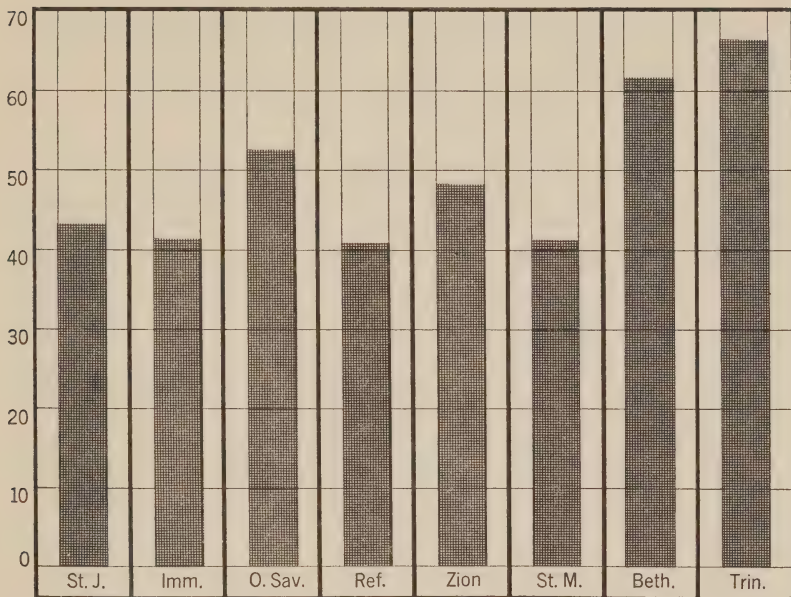


Fig. 1 ■ Percentage of members whose first contact with church was through personal invitation (5-1).

Bethlehem and Trinity, which have experienced considerable success in serving their immediate neighborhoods, indicate that at least one cause of the success is due to their high "invitation scores." But at Our Saviour's, with a higher score than the more successful downtown churches, energy used in direct invitation ought to be directed toward some other forms of evangelism such as mass media and community involvement.

Pastoral Invitation

Omitting the exceptional case of Trinity, about 9 per cent of the membership of all the other churches was invited by the pastor. Taken with Figure 1, this fact documents conclusively that the lay member of the congregation plays a very significant role in the outreach of the church. At the same time, a low percentage in Figure 2 does not in every case reflect a structured and continuing program of lay visitation, as can be seen in the earlier descriptive chapters.

Generally speaking, the pastor in the downtown church, because of the numerous other commitments of his time, is not able to participate as much as the neighborhood or suburban pastor in the direct evangelism visitation program of his church. This is reflected in the graph. As

for Trinity, the high percentage is due both to necessity and opportunity—some “normal” functions of the pastor in the earliest days of the church such as counseling and hospital visitation were at a minimum, thus freeing him for personal visitation.

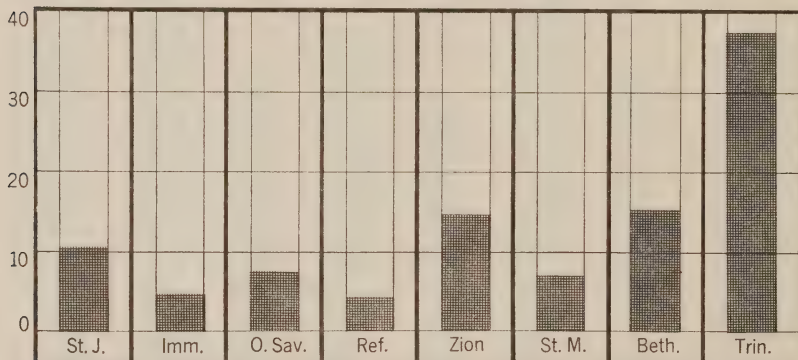


Fig. 2 ■■■■ Percentage of members whose first contact with church was through invitation by pastor (5-5).

In spite of the facts as indicated in this graph and known to many churchmen, the myth of the pastor as *the* evangelist in the church prevails among clergy and laity alike, a carry-over from the rural image of the function of a pastor. And so there are a very few clergymen who do not feel guilty about not being able to do more evangelistic visiting than they do. The role of the urban pastor must be clearly redefined; we live in an age of mobility and impersonal relationships, and there is no sense in trying to re-create the stable community relationships of the past.

Zion, with its high percentage in this graph and its low percentage in Figure 1, raises the suspicion that the pastor might be moving ahead in the integration process too much as an independent operator without bringing his membership along with him. At Bethlehem the pastor invited an even higher percentage of the membership than at Zion, but the high percentage in Figure 1 shows that he was also motivating his members to work along the same lines with him. A rule of thumb for this aspect of urban church work might be something like this: the lay membership should do initial contact work at a rate in excess of four times that of the pastor, including all of the door-to-door canvassing and survey work. The pastor's services are needed in too many different kinds of functions for him to take so much time on work his members can perform just as well.

Previous Contact with Other Churches

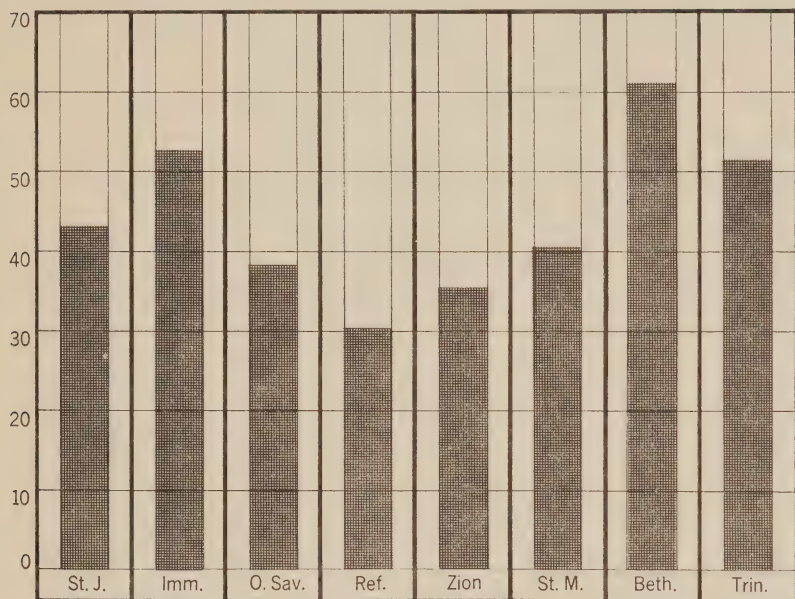


Fig. 3 Percentage of members who had visited other churches before joining (6-6).

While the average percentage on this question for all these churches is 42.9, semi-suburban Reformation has a considerably lower percentage, suggesting that membership decision in this church might be made on a rather automatic basis. This could be due to a high Lutheran background percentage, the outstanding quality and status of the church in its community, or a situation where joining that church is "the thing to do."

Our Saviour's, the downtown church with a neighborhood-type program, is also low in this category. But like Reformation it is located in a highly Lutheran metropolitan area. In the other two downtown churches, Immanuel and St. John's, there is considerably more visiting of other churches before a decision is made to join. This suggests that these two churches have definitely been reaching out beyond the people who would normally join their congregation and have been contacting "marginal" groups of Christians.

It is no accident that Bethlehem and Trinity stand near the top of this graph. Both have conducted intensive visitation programs in their neighborhoods and have consistently extended great effort to reach

all people in their communities, regardless of class, color, or status. Zion and St. Mark's, on the other hand, have been either unwilling or unable to reach out among "marginal prospects" for the church.

B. PARTICIPATION IN CHURCH ACTIVITIES

Sunday Services

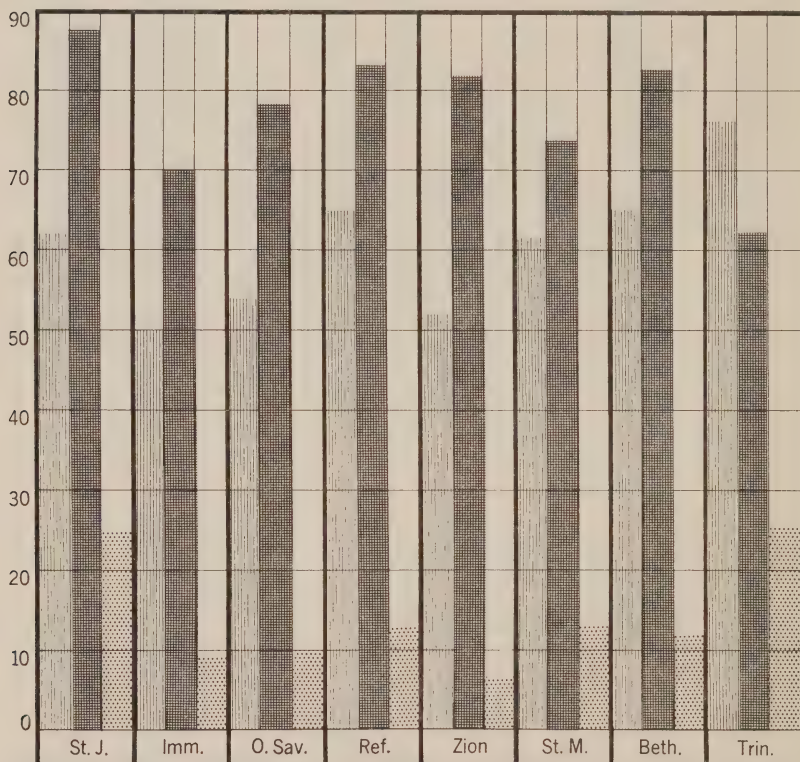


Fig. 4 Percentage of members attending Sunday worship services at least three times a month (10-1).
 Percentage of members receiving Communion three or more times a year (10-7,8)
 Percentage of members attending Sunday school at least once a month (11-5,6,7).

At this point there appears what might be called a "halo effect" in the responses, as church members appraised their attendance characteristics somewhat too generously. If the Sunday attendance of Ameri-

can churches actually measured up to the overall average of 57.3 per cent of the membership claimed in this study, church buildings throughout the country would have to be expanded considerably. The margin of error, however, should be fairly consistent in each of the congregations, and a comparison among them is justified.

Sunday services in downtown churches draw comparatively fewer members than the other types. Immanuel is especially low, located as it is in a metropolitan community from which many people escape over the weekends—competition with numerous outside influences is heavy. Our Saviour's is low probably because so many members come from a distance that church attendance in the suburbs is higher than in most urban situations. Among the neighborhood churches, church attendance at Bethlehem and Trinity is higher than at Zion and St. Mark's.

It should be mentioned that smaller churches (like St. Mark's and Trinity) generally have higher attendance percentages than larger churches. Even so, those churches which are intensively serving and identifying themselves with their neighborhoods apparently draw an even higher percentage of members to their Sunday services.

Because of widely varying practices of the different churches with regard to frequency of Communion services it is difficult to make any analysis of this part of the graph. In some congregations Communion is administered on the first Sunday of each month; in others only on festival days; and many churches combine these two patterns.

It is also difficult to arrive at any deductions from the responses on Sunday school attendance because only confirmed members are included here, and because there are many kinds of adult education programs. Some are conducted during the week, while other churches have actual Sunday school classes for adults. On the whole, however, the low figures here should give real cause for concern, since they indicate that only a few members have an opportunity to really learn about such matters as the Holy Scriptures, church doctrine, and the church-at-large. Few auxiliary organizations in the churches concern themselves very much with educational emphases, and the sermon is not really a teaching device. It is apparent then that educational aspects of adult church life are generally inadequate.

Auxiliary Organizations

There are only slight variations among the churches in the matter of organization membership, with an average of 51.5 per cent of all the churches' members in at least one organization and 20.1 per cent in more than one. Bethlehem, an effective church, has the highest per-

centage of people involved, but St. Mark's, a less effective church, has the highest percentage of "busy" people. It is difficult to come to many firm conclusions about the organizational statistics, but in the case of St. Mark's it can be seen that a rather ingrown group is liable to exist in a situation where relatively few people provide the bulk of organizational membership.

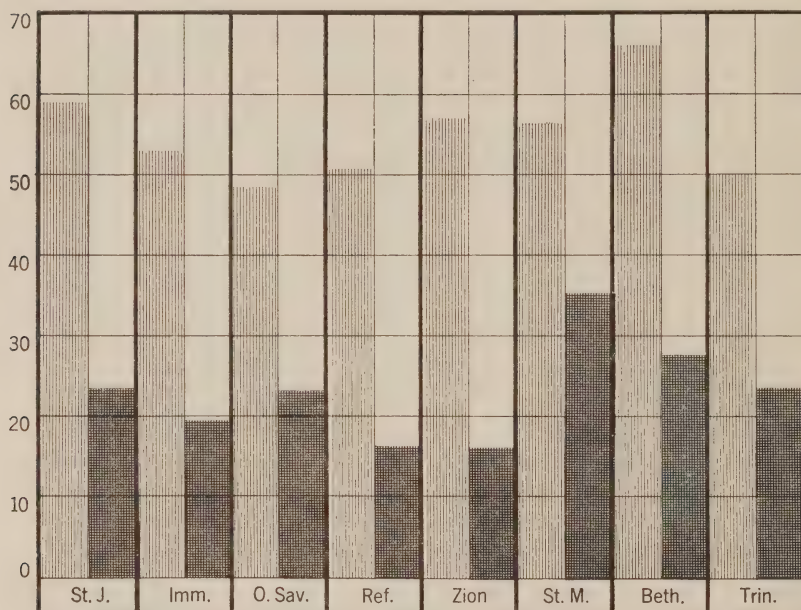


Fig. 5  Percentage of members belonging to at least one organization (12-2).
 Percentage of members belonging to more than one organization (12-3,4,5).

Reformation seems unusually low here, but it is the largest church in the study and its environment would not be lacking in competitive social and civic organizations. People in the population segment serving Trinity are not as favorably inclined to formalized group membership as those in a more middle-class setting, which would explain their relatively low participation. Generally, the more effective churches have higher overall participation than less effective churches in the same type of setting; on the other hand, to have as much as one-third of the membership in two or more groups would seem to be a danger signal, for it indicates either that a rather ingrown clique is controlling church activities or that the organizations have little appeal to the majority of the membership.

Financial Generosity

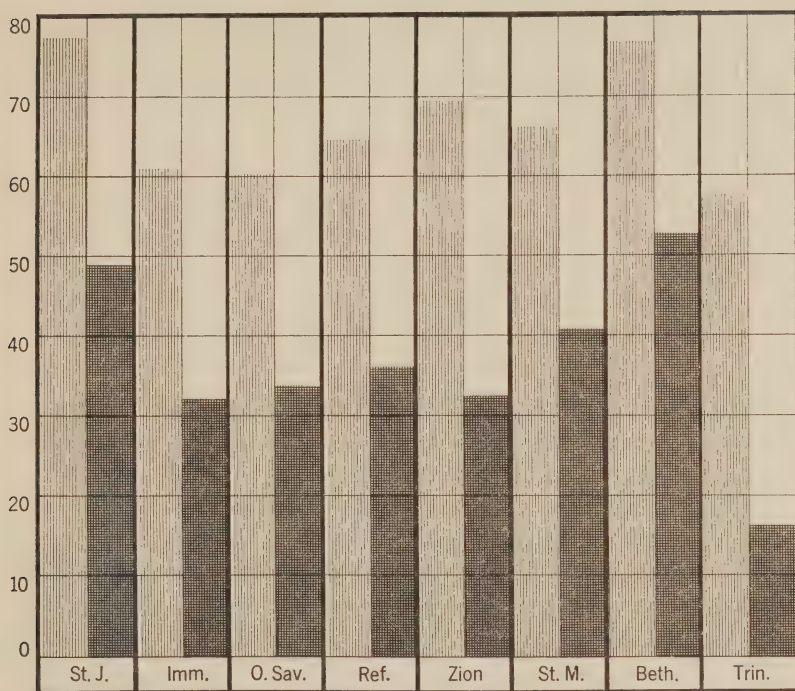


Fig. 6 ■■■■■ Percentage of members contributing regularly to church missionary budget (15-3).

■ Percentage of members contributing regularly to a congregational organization (15-7).

It is rather difficult to explain the consistently low scores on this graph (an average of 62.6 per cent for benevolences, 38.3 for organizations). The newest congregation apparently needs the greatest amount of missionary education. Churches which live only for their own sakes tend to atrophy as history has shown repeatedly. Even a subsidized church should be encouraged to participate in the wider missionary enterprise and feel that it is sharing in the work of the church-at-large to bring the gospel to places far from its own parish. As for the other churches, this graph is a sad commentary on the benevolence involvement of the urban church in general.

The low percentages for financial contributions to organizations may be due in part to the financial policies of some church groups which do not request contributions from their members, but it may also be that

they reflect more correctly than Figure 5 the actual involvement of church members in their organizations. On the other hand, it is possible to overstate the necessity for high percentages of financial contributors to church work—there are other kinds of contribution, a fact attested to by the New Testament.

Social Relationships Within Church

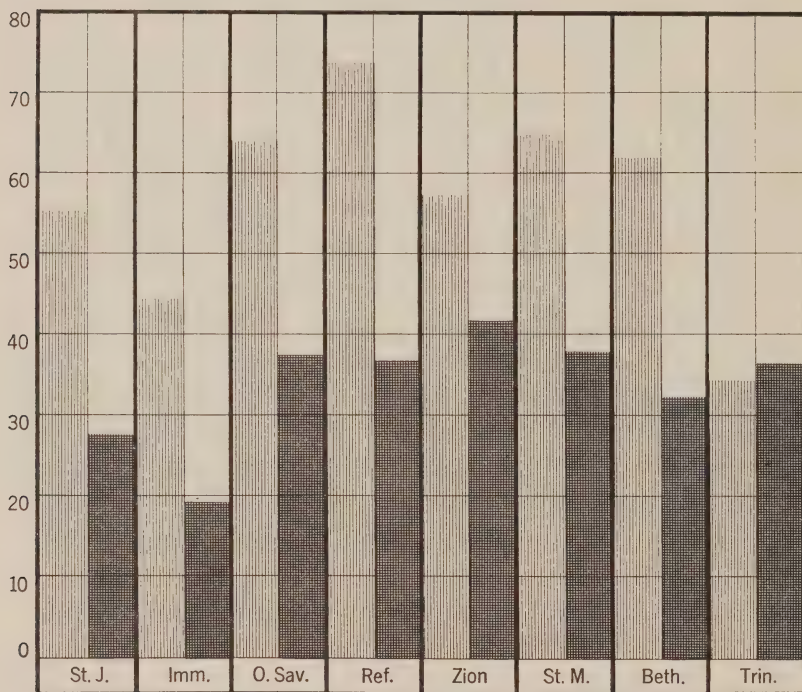


Fig. 7. Percentage of members who know more than twenty-five other members by name (33-4,5).

Percentage of members with at least three of five closest friends in same congregation (34-4,5,6).

An integral part of church life is formed by the social relationships within the congregations. The average percentage of members in the eight churches who can name twenty-six or more fellow-members is 57.8—this is the “acquaintanceship” pattern, for lack of a better term. It is obvious that Trinity stands considerably lower than all the other churches, probably due to two factors. First, the church at the time of the study was less than five years old. Second, and more significant, this church has a distinctly lower-class neighborhood and congregation,

a group in our society which generally does not tend to possess the wide range of informal contacts which is so characteristic of middle- and upper-class groups. As churches try to minister to changing neighborhoods and to varying levels of American society, they should be aware of the fact that acquaintanceship patterns differ from one class to another. There has been too much tendency to identify genuine Christian fellowship with a high degree of intracongregational acquaintanceship, which reflects only a cultural pattern and is not essential to church fellowship.

This truth is documented further by the fact that the suburban church, understandably enough, has the most "acquaintanceship." On the other hand, Immanuel and St. John's, two genuinely downtown churches, are the lowest in this respect, indicating that downtown churches are probably the most impersonal of all churches in America today. The word "impersonal" should not be considered a criticism, but rather the only way to describe social relationships within such congregations. Immanuel, located in the heart of a huge metropolis, stands even lower than St. John's, helping to substantiate the general ratio that the larger the city, the more impersonal tend to be the relationships.

On the other part of the graph dealing with intracongregational friendships, Immanuel and St. John's also stand considerably lower than the other congregations—a further reflection of impersonal situations. It is significant that Trinity, with little "acquaintanceship," has a relatively higher number of friendships, so that it cannot be considered impersonal in the sense of a downtown church.

Most church people probably feel that there is a high degree of correlation between the friendship index of such a graph as this and the effectiveness of a church. They assume, falsely, that the more social contacts in the church, the more effective it is. But, as can be seen here, Bethlehem and Trinity, both of which have been outstanding in their outreach into difficult neighborhoods, are well below the other two neighborhood churches in "friendship" rating. The strength and the dynamics of the Christian church in confronting the urban community lie essentially not in the power of ordinary human relationships but in its commitment to the transforming and redeeming Christ, and in its acceptance of the role of the church as mission.

But no attempt is made here to discourage or oppose fellowship activities and groups in urban churches. Rather, such activities are placed in perspective, so that possibly some of the feelings of guilt, frustration, and failure in so many city churches which are unable to recapture some of the stable patterns of older, rural communities, may be reduced.

C. AWARENESS OF CHURCH MATTERS

Knowledge of Church's Work

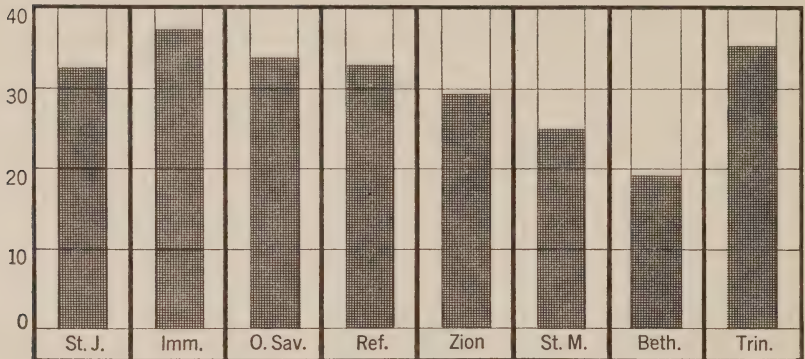


Fig. 8 Percentage of members who feel they know "very little" about congregation's work (18-3).

If the work of the churches in the cities of tomorrow is to be strengthened, obviously the members ought to be as well informed as possible about their church—not only about matters of faith and doctrine, but also about those pertaining to the role and responsibility of the church in contemporary society. This graph should give church leaders some cause for concern, for 31.9 per cent of all the churches' members feel that they "know very little" about their own program and work.

In general, the neighborhood churches seem to be the best-informed in this respect. It is worth noting that Bethlehem is far ahead of the other churches in keeping its laity in touch with its work. Undoubtedly the low figure here reflects the process, described in chapter 7, whereby the membership was involved in policy-making decisions, in discussion of problems, and in the very life of the congregation. Perhaps Trinity, with its high score, may be merely revealing its lower-class nature, but, on the other hand, Trinity's pastor has tended to move ahead pretty much on his own without involving the members of his congregation.

In view of the fact that downtown church members are almost by definition the least involved in church life, it is no surprise that St. John's, Immanuel, and Our Saviour's have some of the highest scores on this graph. But it is a bit disturbing to note that Reformation ranks almost as high as the downtown churches. Could this indicate that church life in the suburbs is a matter of going through the motions and that the suburbanite feels little need to be involved in or informed about his congregation?

Biblical Literacy

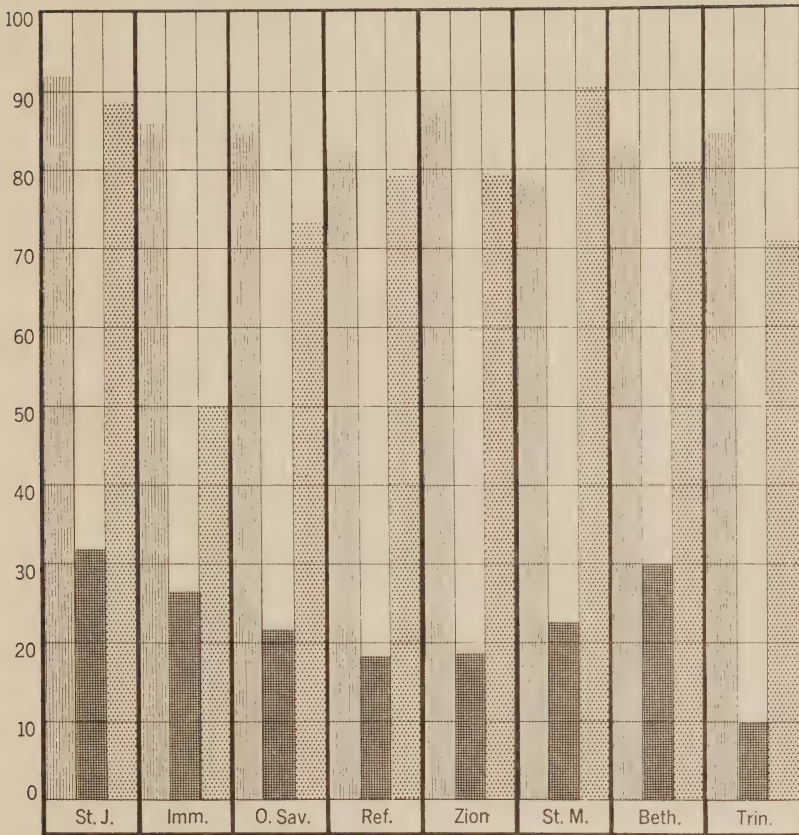


Fig. 9 Percentage of members who know Peter and James are not gospels (61-3,4).

Percentage of members who know Book of Acts is not eye-witness account of Jesus' ministry (60-4,5,6).

Percentage of members who know Book of Psalms is in Old Testament (60-1,2,3).

Three questions were asked concerning knowledge of the Bible. The respondents were asked to check the names of books which are gospels from a list including Matthew, Mark, Peter, James, John, and Luke. To the question, "Would you say that the Book of Acts is an eyewitness account of Jesus' ministry?" the respondent could answer "Yes," "No," or "Don't know." The final biblical question offered the respondent the

choice of placing the Book of Psalms in the Old Testament or in the New Testament. As can be seen, the responses, especially to the last two questions, reveal an overall lack of knowledge about the Bible.

The conclusions to be drawn would certainly suggest that the church ministers today to a generation of religious illiterates. This fact should raise once more the question, "Just what is the nature of our religious revival today?" Is it merely a general state of spiritual uneasiness or is it truly a seeking of the Christian faith? Many churchmen have already begun to suspect that it is the former.

Knowledge of a Christian Teaching

Figure 10 admittedly offers little insight into the general aware-

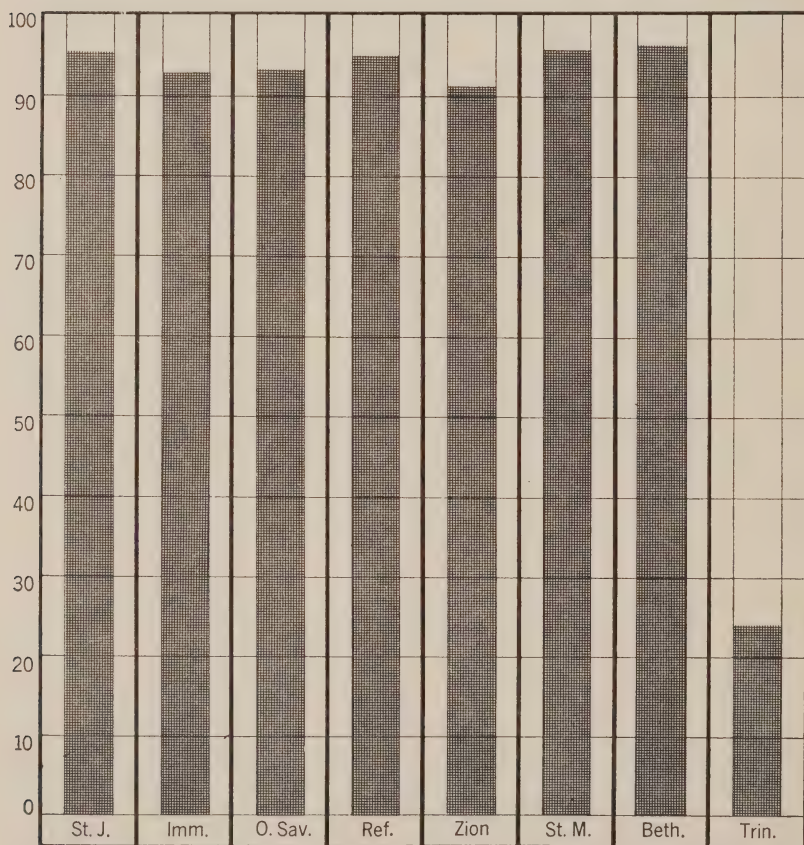


Fig.10 ■ Percentage of members who believe that it is Christian teaching that "all men are equal in the sight of God" (60-4).

ness of church membership about Christian doctrine, but it does reveal other interesting insights. The responses of seven of the eight congregations are consistently high, averaging over 90 per cent, showing that there is a very widespread acceptance, at least in middle-class congregations, of the theoretical concept of the equality of all men before God. Thus the church integration problem seems to be one not of making pronouncements but rather of putting a generally accepted concept into actual practice in members' lives. Too often supposedly responsible Christian laymen and pastors make only a brief testimonial to racial equality and feel that this constitutes responsible involvement in the integration controversy.

To be more specific, it often happens that a church executive appears on the scene of such a controversy where a congregation is already at the point of abandoning a changing neighborhood; he then issues a pious statement about the responsibility that church has to minister to all people. But most congregations must be helped over an extended period of time to really understand what the Christian teachings are concerning integration, and what the practical and strategic implications of abandoning a changing neighborhood are; they need the assurance of undergirding and support from the parent church body in the midst of transition. It is all too easy to absolve a responsibility by paying lip service to it, and genuine involvement is the result of long, painstaking, understanding work of education and redemptive witness.

A second significant insight is revealed by the extremely low showing in the graph of Trinity. Do three-fourths of the members apply their own lower social and economic status to their answer? Or do they base their response instead on an appraisal of other groups still lower in the social class system of the American city? Whichever is the case, the point is once again made that there are differences of attitude between middle- and lower-class congregations.

D. HELP RECEIVED FROM CHURCH

Benefits of Church Membership

In this section of the membership questionnaire, attention was given to respondents' feelings about the personal benefit of their religious life. On every question they chose between the words "Much," "Some," and "Little" to describe the extent of a particular benefit derived from their church affiliation. For the most part variations between congregations are rather slight (on the first part of Figure 11), although some interesting speculations could be made about the generally high response.

In the section of the graph dealing with the benefit of meeting the

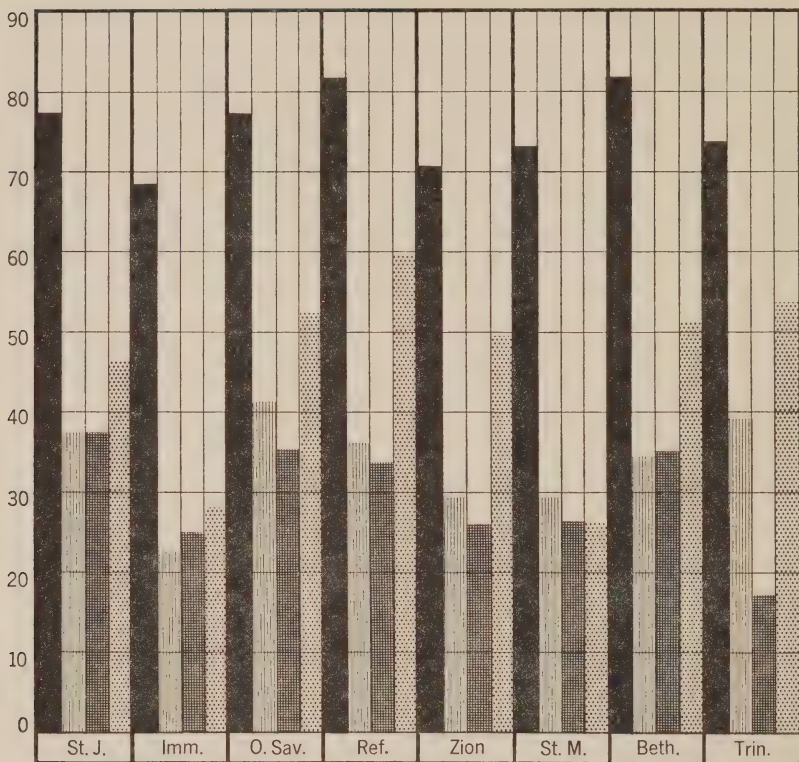


Fig. 11 ■ Percentage of members helped "much" by church to know "God's love and care" for them (63-1).
 ▤ Percentage of members helped "much" to meet "right kind of people" (63-4).
 ▥ Percentage of members helped "much" to make "right decisions" in business affairs (63-0).
 ▦ Percentage of members whose families are brought closer together "much" by the church (63-7).

"right kind of people," Immanuel is noticeably low, indicating once again the highly impersonal and rather anonymous life typical of the resident in an especially vast metropolitan area. St. Mark's, in the same area, also has a relatively low score on this question. But Zion and St. Mark's are exactly equal, and their response may reflect their disapproval of either the congregation's outreach into the neighborhood or a general dissatisfaction with the congregation.

It is also worth noting that Trinity, where lower-class occupational groups are in the majority, has by far the lowest positive response to

the question about the relevancy of the church to decisions in business. This may only indicate that the semi-skilled and unskilled workmen of today's businesses and industries feel completely "caught up in the machinery" which allows them no real decisions in their work life.

The response to the question on familiness might be profitably compared with Figures 16 and 17 in chapter 9.

Aid of Church in Christian Living

In the first two categories on Figure 12 are two measurements of the

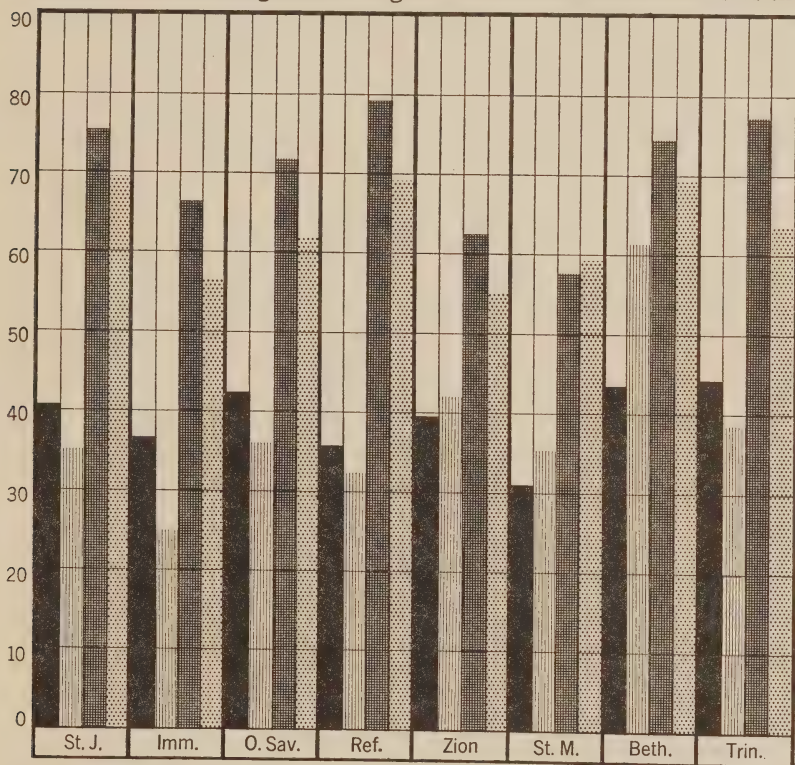


Fig.12 Percentage of members helped "much" by church to be aware of needs of others in community (64-1).

Percentage of members helped "much" to understand different cultures and races (64-4).

Percentage of members whose faith is strengthened "much" by church (64-7).

Percentage of members helped "much" to understand meaning of life (64-0).

social dimension of the gospel, an awareness of needs of others and an understanding of different cultures. Although some church leaders might object to their inclusion in a section which reaches toward the essence of the efficacy of the Christian gospel, these matters are definitely part of the ideal Christian message in the urban scene, a message which must be as relevant as it is doctrinally sound. And it is significant that the general level of response here is rather low.

Bethlehem and Trinity, however, which have strong and effective programs in the midst of changing neighborhoods, rank highest in awareness of others' need. And Bethlehem, the successfully integrated church, is by far the highest in respect to an understanding of different cultures. Even at Zion, where the process of integration is not nearly so successful as at Bethlehem, a feeling that the church contributes to the understanding of different cultures is stronger than at six of the other churches.

E. NONCHURCH CONCERNS OF MEMBERS

Feelings about Urban Problems

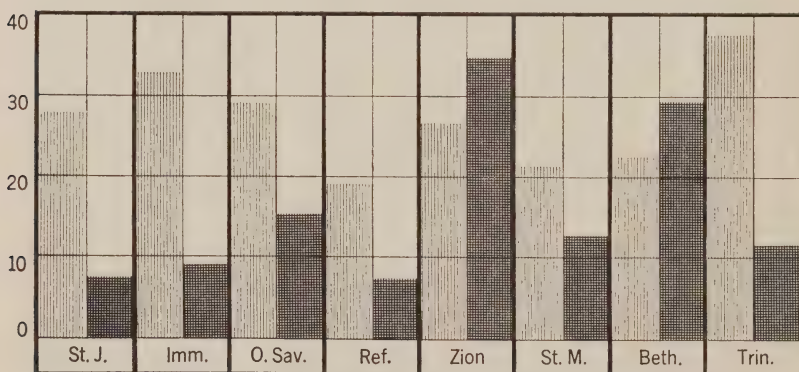


Fig.13 ■■■ Percentage of members affected personally by anonymity of city ("some" or "very much") (56-1,2).

■ Percentage of members affected personally by conflicts between cultural and/or racial groups ("some" or "very much") (57-5,6)

A clear analysis of a congregation's "church life" cannot be made without also touching on its attitudes and activities outside strictly church concerns. Since this is a study of the urban church, it is valuable to find out if pressing social problems of the city are recognized by the members.

One of these problems is loneliness—the impersonal aspect of city

life—and from this graph it can be generalized that in the three downtown churches and in the lower-class congregation (Trinity) the problem has higher priority than in the neighborhood churches. Of these, Zion, which is in a neighborhood of rapid racial transition, feels the problem somewhat more keenly. Friendship and acquaintanceship patterns, as shown in Figure 7 in this chapter, apparently have no relation to the answers given to this question.

As might be expected, the two congregations in neighborhoods of changing racial composition have high scores on the second category on this graph, feeling affected by the problem of ill feeling between people of different backgrounds. But Bethlehem, having definitely broken through the "barrier," feels this problem to be less important than do members of Zion. Obviously Reformation, in a restricted community, is least involved and therefore least concerned, and the two truly downtown churches also consider this not to be a pressing problem. Perhaps the low response at Immanuel is due to the fact that only a tiny percentage of the membership is made up of non-Caucasians; on the other hand it might also be due to the impersonal nature of the downtown church, where such social involvements are necessarily less evident than in a neighborhood church, especially one in a changing community.

Involvement in Secular Organizations

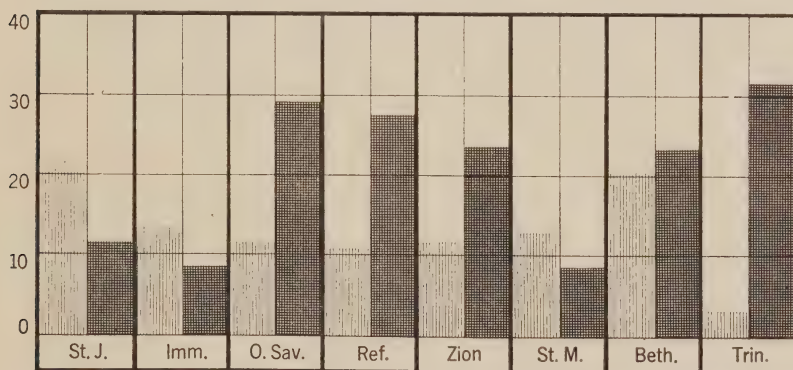


Fig.14 Percentage of members belonging to three or more outside organizations (77-4,5).

Percentage of members belonging to labor union (76-7).

St. John's and Bethlehem on one hand and Trinity on the other differ markedly from the average of the eight churches on this graph. The

considerably higher degree of involvement in nonchurch organizations at St. John's and Bethlehem is perhaps related to the higher proportions of members there who have had some college training (Figure 9, chapter 9). But this cannot provide the full explanation, as the graph here does not quite line up with the one on educational background. The educational and preaching programs of St. John's and Bethlehem have included an emphasis on responsible citizenship and community leadership, which may help further to explain their higher participation. Trinity's low score on this question probably reveals a characteristic of lower-class population groups, one which church leaders and pastors should consider when planning church work in low-income neighborhoods.

The second category on the graph shows that St. John's, Immanuel, and St. Mark's can be identified with the nonunion segment of the working population. Except in the case of Bethlehem, a direct relationship between the union statistics and those on educational level and occupational distribution (Figures 9 and 10, chapter 9) can be discerned. St. John's, Immanuel, and St. Mark's each have high percentages of college-trained members and professional and managerial workers. However, Bethlehem, even with the highest percentage of college-trained members and almost the highest percentage of managerial and professional workers, has a relatively high representation in the labor unions. It is worth noting also that Our Saviour's, with the next highest proportion of union members, is quite unlike the other two downtown churches. On the whole, statistics such as these would point up the need for congregations and their leaders to be aware of the labor-union involvement of so many of their members.

Reading Habits

Another "secular" activity, the reading of different kinds of periodicals, provides a final insight into the significant and interesting variations in the life of these congregations. Apparently people in the large metropolises, including the members of Immanuel, St. Mark's, and St. John's, are inclined to keep better informed about current events and world affairs in their reading of news magazines than are people in the Midwest. It is no surprise to find Trinity with by far the lowest readership of the two news magazines. This of course is a "special" congregation, but on the whole these statistics reveal that there are distinct levels of awareness about community, national, and international problems between churches. Naturally, these different levels can be found also *within* the congregations, but there can be no doubt that the educational and preaching programs of St. John's, Immanuel, and St.

Mark's should be geared to a considerably higher level of sophistication than those of the other congregations in our study.

One generally thinks of suburban middle-class families when considering the readership of *Better Homes and Gardens*. Immanuel and St. Mark's, whose members are mostly urbanites, therefore show relatively little interest in this magazine. And Trinity's members are quite far

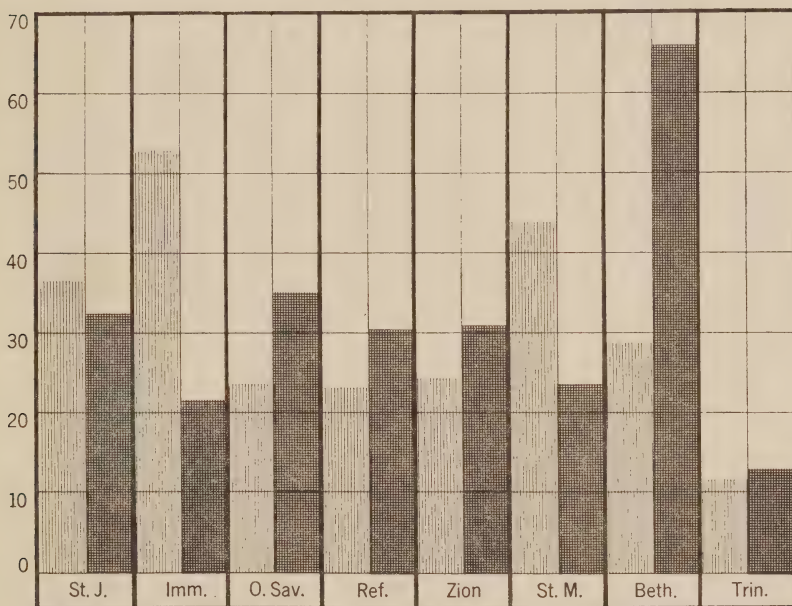


Fig. 15 Percentage of members who read *Time* or *Newsweek* (78-9, 79-3).
 Percentage of members who read *Better Homes and Gardens* (79-7).

removed in temperament and status from the typical readership pattern of this magazine. On the other hand, St. John's and Our Saviour's are somewhat higher in this category than most of the other congregations, including even Reformation which is located in a suburb. These statistics reveal the difficulties in discussing "urban" and "suburban" memberships; actually, many downtown church members are scattered throughout the suburban communities of the metropolitan areas, while Reformation is really only semi-suburban (see chapter 4). The high score for Bethlehem can be explained by the fact that its residential neighborhood is for its many Negro newcomers in fact a "suburbia," as far as their racial group is concerned. And there is also a suggestion in this statistic that members of the Negro elite have a real determination to adopt middle-class values and the suburban way of life.

Chapter 11

Perception and Evaluation of the Church and Its Leadership

The remainder of this section examines in some detail the subjective attitudes and opinions of members as expressed on the questionnaire. Two questions will be considered throughout. First, how close are congregations' opinions to the actual facts (where it is possible to determine the latter)? Second, what do their evaluations reveal about themselves? This chapter deals only with matters related to the "normal" life of the congregations—their pastors and leaders, their composition, their program, and their environs.

A. THE PASTOR

General Rating

There is no way to discover exactly why people consider their pastors "very successful" or something less, but some clues to their criteria of rating can be found in Section I. Undoubtedly the high esteem accorded the pastors of St. John's and Immanuel is partly due to the prestige positions which they occupy as figureheads of key downtown churches.

On the other hand, the low figure on Figure 1 for Zion probably reflects the unrest and the tension within the congregation as it experiences the early stages of the integration process. Congregations on the threshold of a controversial step almost invariably experience this "disintegrating reduction of support and unanimity" within. Too often the desire to maintain a high level of unanimity becomes a prime goal for congregational leaders, and controversial measures and issues (not always just integration) are consequently ducked. But it should be realized that uncertainty and tensions of members, often resulting in loss of faith in a particular pastor, are an almost inescapable part of the process leading eventually to an effective ministry in the changing city.

In the case of St. Mark's, the extremely low figure here definitely indicates a real dissatisfaction with the pastor and cannot be a reflection of tension over major programing or policy issues. And the very high

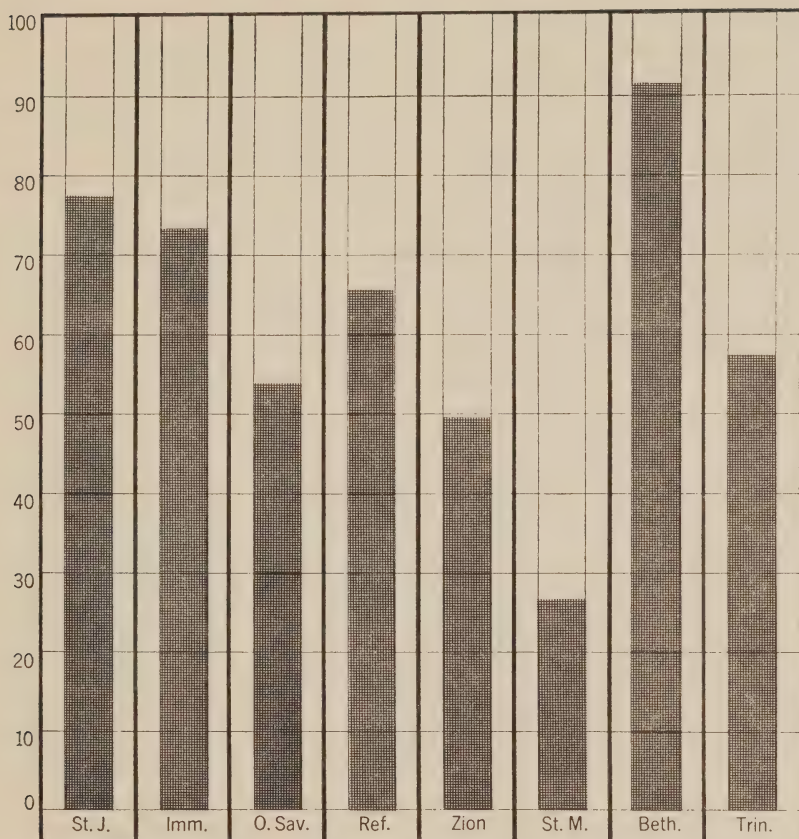


Fig. 1 ■ Percentage of members rating pastor "very successful" in doing his job (30-5).

regard for the pastor at Bethlehem is certainly a testimony to his capable leadership through the church's days of uncertainty and transition. It is also a testimony to the experience that the members themselves have had in making their own contributions to the church's ministry. If the same members had been queried two or three years earlier, the pastor might have been rated no higher than Zion's (although this is dubious, in the light of that pastor's ability to maintain the confidence of his parishioners). Trinity's judgment of its pastor is somewhat less enthusiastic than might be expected. Perhaps the members' lack of involvement in the life of the congregation as well as the strictness of the minister (see Figure 2) account for this.

Preaching and Teaching

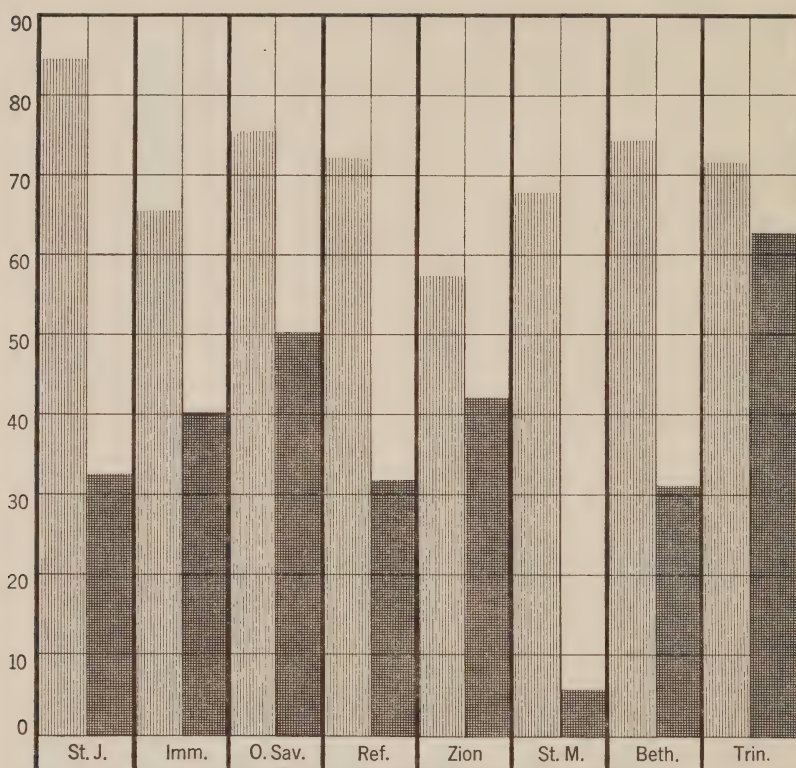


Fig. 2  Percentage of members who like pastor's sermons "very well" (31-1).
 Percentage of members who consider pastor "very strict" in insisting on the religious teachings of the church (29-1).

There is considerably less variation in the first part of this graph than in Figure 1, but it is evident that pastors of urban churches should pay attention to the demands on their preaching in each particular situation. At St. John's, a strategic downtown church with a rather far-reaching radio ministry, it is obvious that the pulpit occupies a more strategic place than in perhaps any other type of church. The preaching ministry is almost as important at Immanuel, but the counseling program there accounts for a very significant amount of the minister's time. Though the pastor of Our Saviour's rates quite high on his sermons, his low general rating in Figure 1 suggests that preaching is not the most important part of his duties for many of his parishioners.

The pastor of Zion might be considered guilty of not spending enough time preparing his sermons. But in a transitional church his time is probably better spent in community affairs and in working out the integration questions in his situation. The urban pastor has so many responsibilities involving pastoral care, parish administration, community leadership, and so forth that the time he can devote to sermon preparation and other studies is necessarily limited. Denominational leaders should realize this fact; even though the scholarship and homiletics of the clergy admittedly could stand improvement, first things must come first in the urban church. Where a situation demands that community and parish service take precedence over sermon preparation, the pastor should not be made to feel guilty by his superiors for adapting his role to the situation.

In the "strictness of teaching" category, St. Mark's and Trinity are noticeably far from the overall average on the graph. The parishioners of St. Mark's apparently criticize their pastor for a lack of strictness in religious teaching, even though he feels that this is what they want. On the other hand, at Trinity the consensus seems to be that the pastor is too strict. On the whole, however, it is difficult to discover whether members feel that this is an asset or a drawback.

Use of Time

Church members have various images of their pastors—mental pictures of what pastors actually do all week when the service is over. They may think of the pastor of being primarily engaged in study, or spending most of his time visiting members, or attending church meetings.

It is apparent from Figure 3 that few members consider the pastor of St. Mark's to be anything more than a preacher and "friendly visitor"; their judgment is supported by the pastor's own statements. Significantly, the pastors of Zion and Bethlehem are pictured as spending considerably less time on sermon preparation than those of the other churches, due undoubtedly to their activity in community leadership.

Figure 3 does not of course represent the estimated percentage of time spent on pastoral activities, but rather the percentage of members who feel that most of the pastor's time is devoted to a specific activity. Thus Zion and Trinity, more than the other congregations, perceive their pastor to be spending a considerable amount of time visiting nonmembers. These two pastors apparently have not been willing or able to develop the sense of responsibility for evangelism among their members; the job of visiting nonmembers seems to them primarily the pastor's job. But at the downtown and suburban churches evangelism

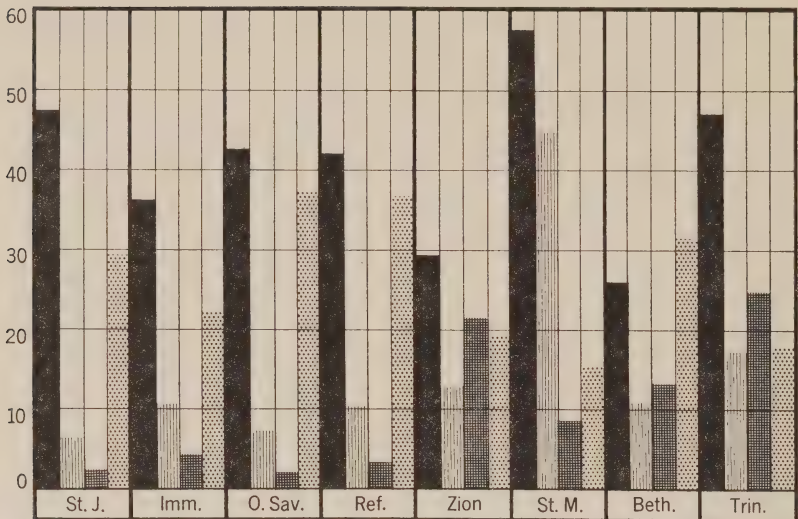


Fig. 3 Percentage of members who feel pastor spends most of time—

- preparing sermons (22-1).
- visiting members (22-2).
- visiting nonmembers (22-3).
- attending church meetings (22-4).

is considered to be either the members' job or at least a relatively unimportant part of the pastors' functions. Downtown and suburban church pastors tend to devote a higher proportion of their time to attending church meetings. The pastor of Bethlehem also is seen as spending much time in this activity, due possibly to the fact that for its Negro members it functions as a suburban church.

If parishioners are right, their ministers devote a disproportionate amount of time to the church-at-large (see Figure 4)—pastors' conferences, denominational and interdenominational meetings, and service on various working committees outside of the congregation. And it is true that many parish pastors have been protesting against the mounting number of meetings to which they are constantly being called. Especially since the end of World War II, denominational programs in many areas of church concern have overwhelmed the parish pastor with demands. And most of the requests from denominational, interdenominational, and community sources are quite worthy of his support and involvement. Definite steps should be taken by both denominational and interdenominational groups to consolidate and minimize the number of such demands upon the parish pastor. Furthermore, de-

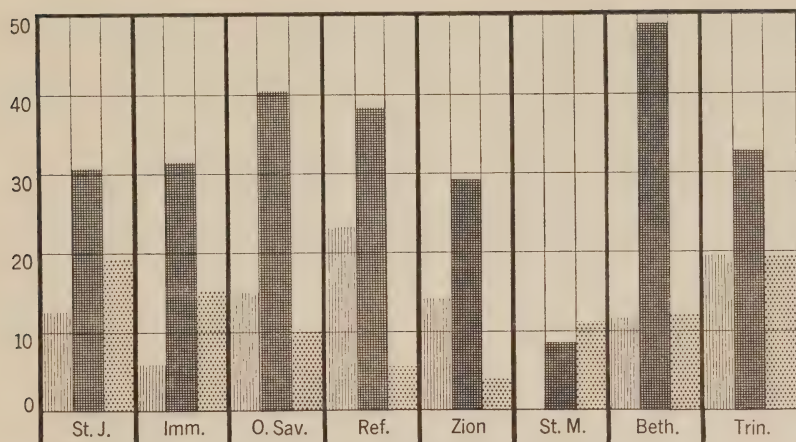


Fig. 4 Percentage of members who feel pastor spends most of time—
 doing office work (22-5).
 working for church at large (22-6).
 giving people advice (22-7).

nominations must recognize that local community responsibilities have an equally legitimate demand on his time and concern.

All the categories in Figures 3 and 4 represent legitimate roles in the life of the parish pastor—there are many others. Certainly the member of the urban parish today needs to understand more sympathetically and intelligently the role of his parish pastor.

Evaluation of Use of Time

The two following graphs (Figures 5, 6) chart members' criticism of the same categories of the pastors' use of time listed above: they reveal interesting insights into both the congregations and the pastors. Some general observations can be made. It is no surprise to find the members of St. Mark's quite critical of the pastor in almost every category; on the other hand, at Bethlehem, where the pastor is popular, criticism is at a minimum. Although several congregations criticize pastors' sermons (Figure 2), they apparently do not connect this with time spent in preparation, as the first category on Figure 5 shows.

The small amount of dissatisfaction at Immanuel with pastoral visitation to members brings up an important point. Actually, that church's pastors do extremely little calling on members, spending most of their time on reaching prospective members. In the urban church members

should be educated to the role of the minister in the particular situation. They must realize that the pastor has to give up some of his traditional practices if he is to play a responsible role in community affairs and lead the church in its outreach to the newcomer in the neighborhood. This education has taken place at Immanuel, and the membership has become oriented to this understanding of the pastor's role. The popular image of the pastor in a small rural village who is constantly visiting his people has all but disappeared among this group of urbanites.

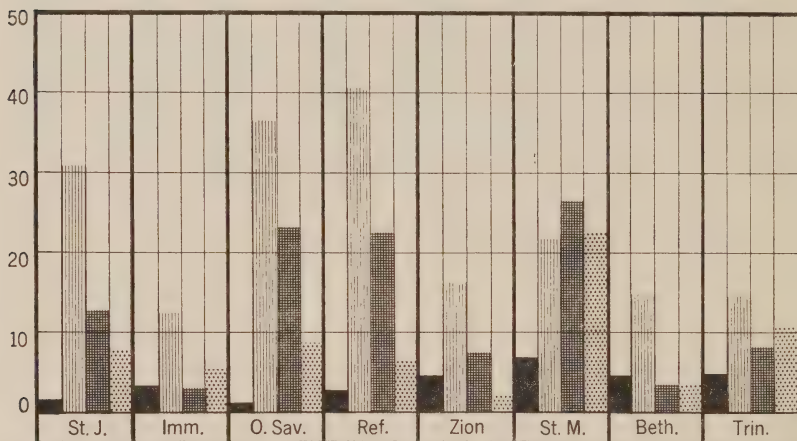


Fig. 5 Percentage of members who feel pastor spends "too much" or "too little" time—

- preparing sermons (25-1,2).
- visiting members (25-5,6).
- visiting nonmembers (26-1,2).
- attending church meetings (26-5,6).

Often a congregation's criticism is not at all dependent upon actual time usage of the pastor but rather on the attitude that members have toward the particular activity. Thus the high criticism at Trinity of the pastor's office work (Figure 6) is probably due to the fact that a lower-class group tends to be unappreciative of and hostile toward "paper work." Such members cannot appreciate the amount of detailed administrative work that is an essential part of any institutional operation, including the church. Unfortunately, many pastors often share this attitude, rebelling against "hateful office details" instead of accepting administrative matters as an essential part of their ministry.

The matter of the urban pastor's personal leisure time and recreation

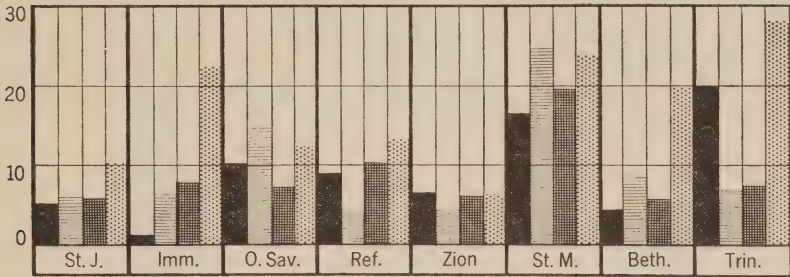


Fig. 6 Percentage of members who feel pastor spends "too much" or "too little" time—
 ■ doing office work (27-1,2).
 ▨ working for church at large (27-5,6).
 ▩ giving people advice (28-1,2).
 ▤ on his own recreation (28-5,6).

is one of general concern to many parishioners; usually they feel he does not allow himself enough. Here they are probably right, for too many clergymen never fully accept themselves as human beings who need some time for rest and relaxation. In extreme cases they often drive themselves to the point of despair and exhaustion, especially where tensions of the urban situation make their lives even more complicated.

Status in Community

In the face of continuing population mobility and the growing anonymity of the city, the urban church must consider its image in the eyes of its community. What do people know about the church and its minister? The question is raised not to advocate that the church seek publicity merely for publicity's sake, but rather that it safeguard against becoming obscure and thereby out of touch with its community. The urban congregation must concern itself not only with its present membership or even with potential members living in the neighborhood; it also has a responsibility to its community, and should therefore make its program, its outreach, and its "image" known—even to those who might never come into direct contact with any member of the congregation. Thus, Figure 7 is of great importance.

Bethlehem certainly considers its pastor one of the principal leaders, if not the key leader, in its community. This fact is documented here as well as in chapter 7. The surprisingly low rating of Immanuel is due to several factors. Surrounding that metropolitan church are several truly strong prestige churches of other denominations. Also, the sheer

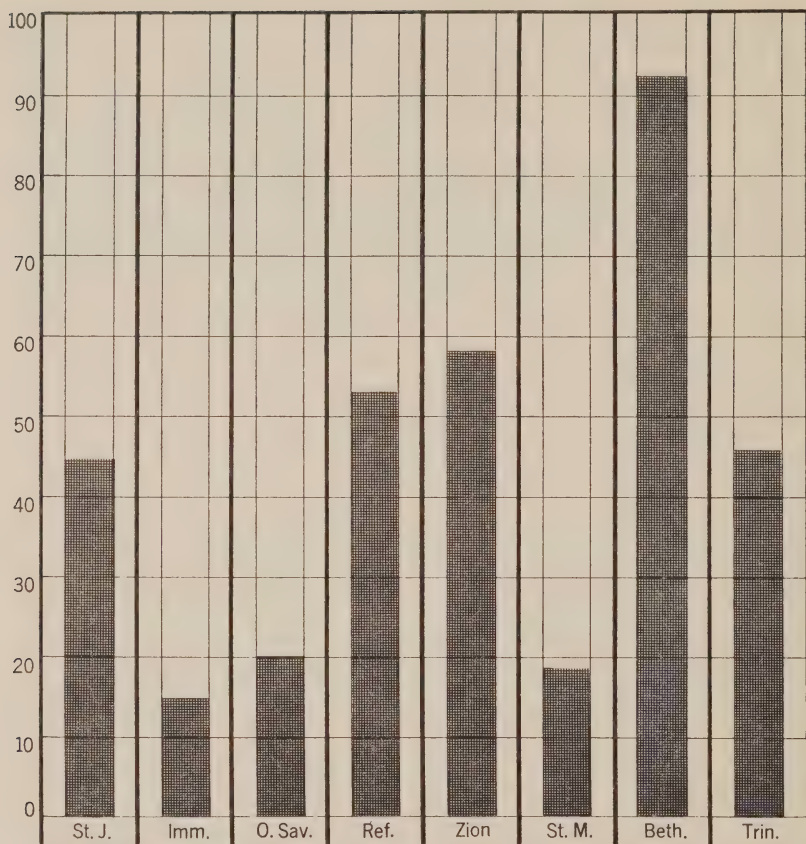


Fig. 7 Percentage of members who feel pastor is "well known" in neighborhood around church (30-1).

vastness and anonymity of its environs result in the fact that churches and their ministers in such a large city really do not become "known" locally to the extent that they might in a smaller city (such as that of St. John's); therefore, it takes a longer period of time for a minister to attain status in such a diffuse and complex situation. It is a tribute to the pastor of Trinity that, even in the short history of that congregation, he has become so well known in the community. It will be recalled that he directs much of his attention to publicizing the church.

The low scores for the pastors of Our Saviour's and St. Mark's probably are both justified and intended as criticism. But at Reformation and Zion the pastors have been strongly identified with various community problems and social issues and have been among the lead-

ers in their respective neighborhoods. The pastor of Zion received considerable criticism from members, some of it perhaps deserved, but his people realize that he is a leader who is attempting to bring organization and concord into their disrupted community.

Role in Community

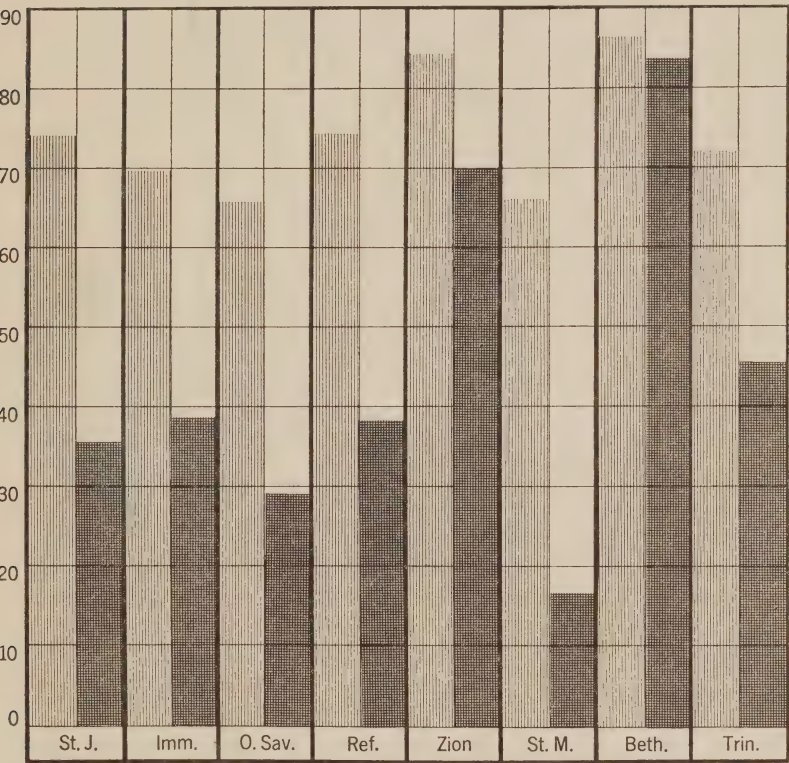


Fig. 8 Percentage of members who feel pastor should be active in community affairs (24-1). Percentage of members who think pastor is active in community affairs (24-4).

There seems to be general agreement in these churches that the pastor should take an active part in community affairs. Interestingly enough, the two churches of the Augustana Synod, Zion and Bethlehem, rank even higher than all the others in this category of the graph. Of course, a real weakness of this question is the fact that members may have different interpretations of what is meant by "community

affairs." For some this would consist of the pastor attending businessmen's luncheons and appearing occasionally at public ceremonies to pronounce the invocation or benediction. These are not unworthy involvements, but it is more important for pastors in many urban situations today to be identified with the struggle for open-occupancy housing, zoning enforcement, urban renewal programs, and so forth.

The second category on the graph indicates the proportion of the members in the various congregations who feel that their pastors are active in community affairs. In this respect Zion and Bethlehem again stand out from all the others, an accurate reflection of what they are actually doing. The dissatisfaction of St. Mark's with its part-time pastorate is quite evident here.

B. CHURCH GOVERNMENT

Program- and Policy-Shaping

How congregations actually conduct their affairs and arrive at decisions on matters of programing and policy is a matter of a wide variety of patterns. Regardless of denominational polity, Protestant churches exhibit a conglomeration of governmental structures and administrative operations. Adding to the confusion are the historical and traditional dimensions of congregations and their denominations, not to mention the personal relations within the congregation and, of course, the personality of the pastor himself. Figure 9 reflects this wide variety of factors in church government and members' reactions to them.

Except at St. Mark's, it appears that about half of the members of these congregations would approach their pastors (as opposed to lay leaders or denominational executives) to suggest program changes. At Immanuel the administrative structure in that congregation is such that members would naturally "go through channels" with suggestions. But at Our Saviour's this is not the case and the low score probably reflects instead a disapproval of the pastor and a feeling that it might not do any good to talk with him about suggested changes. In the midst of changing communities the leadership of congregations should be receptive to insights and suggestions from any quarter, especially from the members themselves.

Zion and Trinity stand out in the next category—and there is no doubt that their programs have been pretty much dominated by the pastor. The high responses here possibly indicate some resentment, with members feeling "things have been railroaded through." Naturally, vacillation and ambivalence are not desirable alternatives, but pastors should work with the members of the congregation as much

as possible in developing an adequate program for the changing community. The low response at St. Mark's obviously reflects a lack of leadership on the part of the pastor. But at Immanuel and Bethlehem, where dramatic changes have occurred in the last five years, these have definitely not been labeled as predominantly the pastor's doings. Many urban pastors realize that there is a considerable gap between

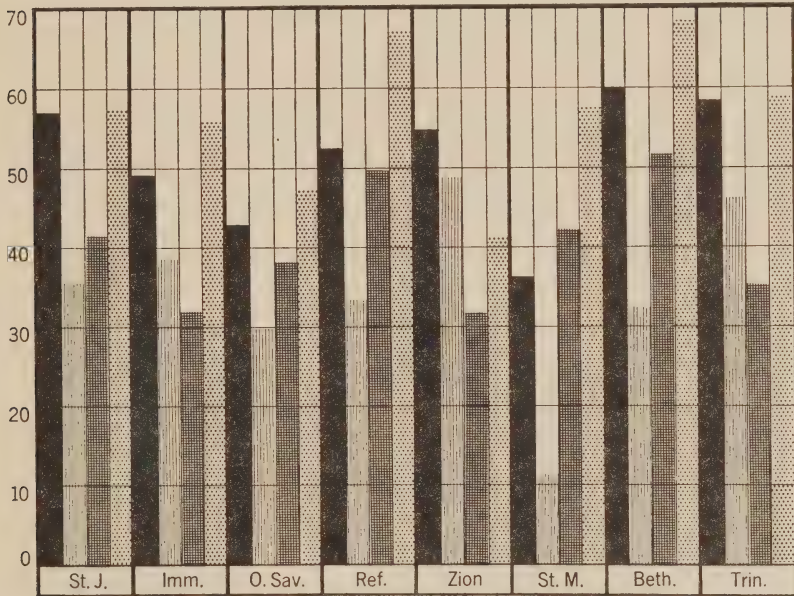


Fig. 9 Percentage of members who would go to pastor to suggest changes in church's program (36-5).
 Percentage of members who believe pastor most influential in deciding program (37-2).
 Percentage of members feeling that they have voice in shaping policy (35-1).
 Percentage of members feeling that policy is decided democratically (35-4).

knowing what programs and decisions to arrive at and knowing how to lead a congregation to those decisions. Too often seminaries and denominational executives present pastors with the goals but not the methods to attain them.

The third category on the graph supports the impression that the pastor of Bethlehem has really led his people into a widely accepted decision despite the fact that it was a most difficult one. At the same

time it reveals that Zion, Trinity, and Immanuel have memberships which are somewhat less responsibly involved in the decision-making process—especially Zion. For the fourth category shows that at Trinity and Immanuel there seems to be general approval and the sense of democratic process in spite of the fact that individual members have not been involved in decisions. At Zion, however, there is a definite expression of opposition to what is happening.

C. CHURCH LIFE

Evangelism

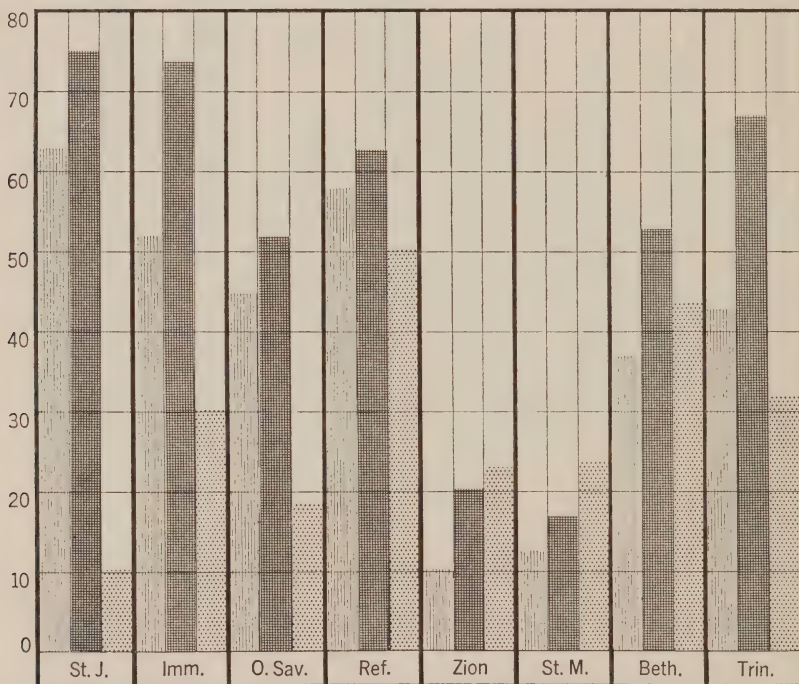


Fig.10 Percentage of members who feel membership gain is due to—
 good church program (19-1).
 good pastoral leadership (19-2).
 newcomers to neighborhood being attracted (19-3).

Respondents were asked to designate whether or not their congregation had gained in membership during the last five years. Of the eight congregations only Zion and St. Mark's had actually experienced a decrease in membership over the five-year period, and scores

indicated for them on this graph must be accounted to wishful thinking or lack of information. On the whole, the church program seems to account for a higher proportion of the membership gain in downtown and suburban churches than in neighborhood churches. And, especially in the downtown churches, pastoral leadership is of high importance to success in evangelism. More than in the neighborhood or suburban church, the downtown pastor's prestige position influences the success of the congregation.

Newcomers do not seem as easily attracted to downtown churches as they are to neighborhood churches, at least in the eyes of the members. Both types fall far short of the suburban church's "built-in attraction power." Apparently downtown churches must work hardest to win members newly moved into the neighborhood, while mobile suburbanites join a nearby church almost as a matter of course.

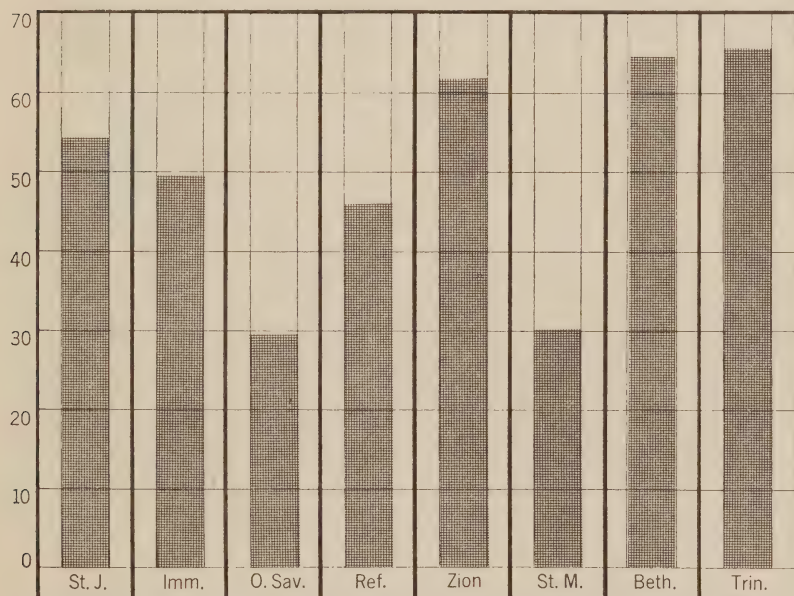


Fig. 11 Percentage of members who feel pastor alone brings in most new members (21-1).

The above graph shows clearly the heavy responsibility the pastor assumes in evangelism, since such a large percentage of respondents singled him out for this task instead of lay members, special programs, or church schools. Both Our Saviour's and St. Mark's are dissatisfied with the work of their pastors in winning new members. But even at

Bethlehem and Immanuel, where the pastor is perceived as spending relatively little time in visiting nonmembers, he is still considered to be quite essential in evangelism work. It seems that the pastor's leadership of visitation programs is considered just as important as the actual visiting he does. On the whole, the pastor of a neighborhood church is looked on as having a greater part in bringing in new members than the downtown or suburban pastor.

Membership Characteristics

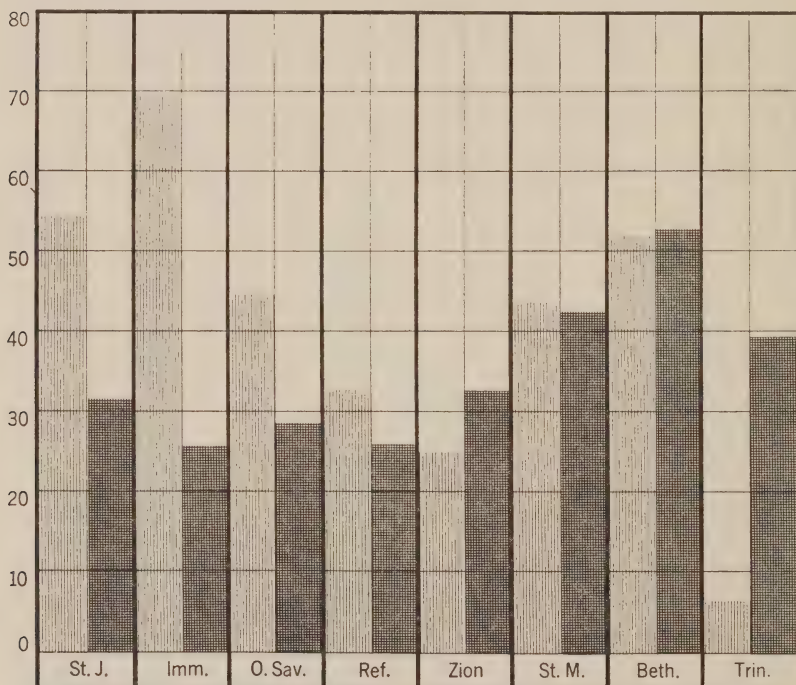


Fig.12 Percentage of members who describe congregation as "middle class" (32-2).

Percentage of members who feel church business is conducted "very" harmoniously (36-1).

The two truly downtown churches, Immanuel and St. John's, stand out as churches which identify their "prestige" status with "middle-class" characteristics. Bethlehem, too, in the heart of Negro suburbia, has a high opinion of its social status, which is reflected in their high response. But Trinity, lowest of the churches in income, occupation,

and education (see chapter 9) clearly does not identify itself with a high social level. Reformation, in an industrial suburb, here again reveals that it cannot be called a typically middle-class suburban church by ranking itself quite low on the social scale. It is worth repeating that part of the problem in the transition of Zion toward integrating is probably its lower-class membership; sociologists have often stated that lower-status population groups tend to be more openly resistant to integration of any sort of newcomer than are the higher-status segments of the population.

The second part of the graph visualizes positive answers to the question, "In conducting the business of the congregation, how well do members get along together?" Alternate answers were "fairly well" and "rather poorly." Bethlehem stands out here for its sense of oneness and unanimity in trying circumstances. One general conclusion which might be drawn from this part of the graph is that pastors and congregations ought to be somewhat more realistic than they are in their hopes for congregational harmony. It is simply impossible for the decisions which must be made in urban congregations to be carried off with the complete accord of all the members. Only about a third of the membership of these eight churches would say that members get along "very well."

Program

Very often in the subjective parts of the questionnaire the "halo effect" prevails in the members' appraisals of general categories in the life of the congregations. Members seem much more willing to criticize individual aspects of congregational life. Figure 13 reveals that members of St. Mark's are quite aware of the fact that their program is below average. On the other hand, one of the problems often encountered in urban church work is that a church often tends to hide behind the label of being an "average church in an average community," especially when evaluating its program. A more intelligently critical attitude toward both the neighborhood and the congregation should be fostered among members; only as they begin to think analytically and creatively about the implications of their changing situation will they be willing to make adjustments.

In the matter of "change" (Figure 14) Zion shows a limited amount of approval of what is being done there, and, in the second category on Figure 14 reveals a strong feeling that its situation is more difficult than the average. On the other hand, Bethlehem, which has successfully weathered the early stages of integration, now shows general approval of the changes and is not nearly as concerned about its

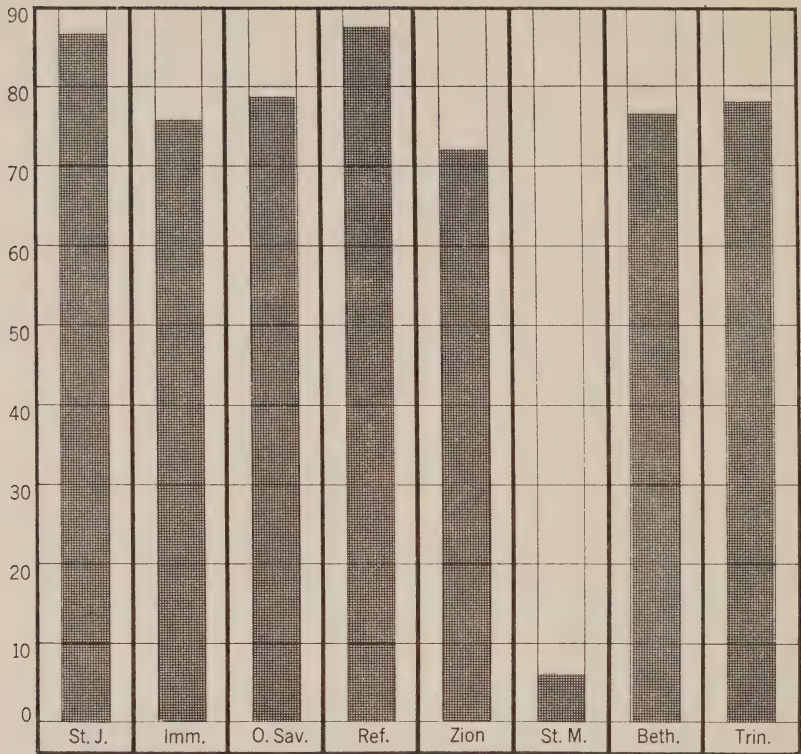


Fig.13 ■ Percentage of members rating congregation's program "average" or better (39-5,6).

environmental problems. (The fairly high score in the second category probably indicates a kind of pride at having overcome difficult problems).

Even though Immanuel is in the midst of a relatively difficult situation, it does not see it as such, and changes in the congregation are heartily approved. (It will be remembered also that not too high a percentage of Immanuel's members felt that they had a voice in the church's program.) It is significant that semi-suburban Reformation feels that it has relatively few problems. A great deal must and can be done to help congregations see the possibilities and opportunities inherent in their present situations. Long-term planning and strategy by the church to cope with the changing urban community would be a major contribution to leading congregations in more favorable and trouble-

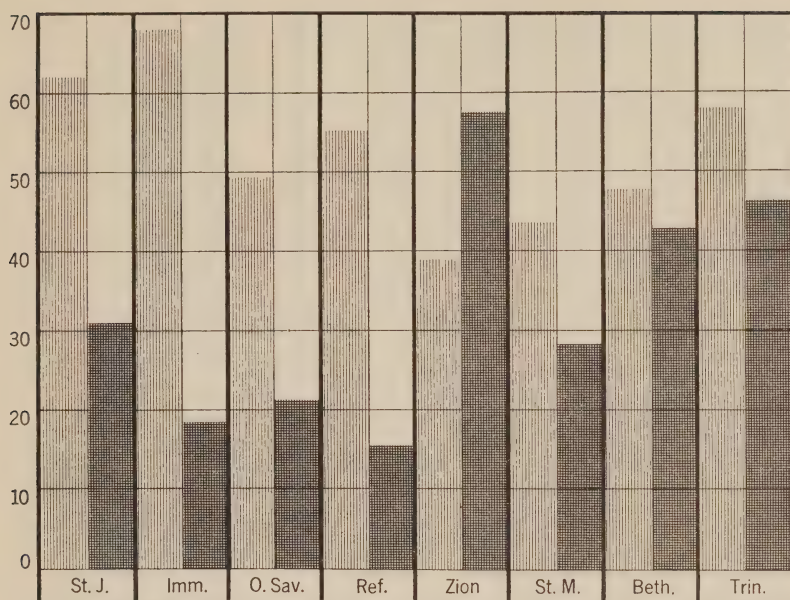


Fig. 14 ■■■■■ Percentage of members approving of recent changes in program (38-1).
 ■■■■■ Percentage of members who feel congregation faces problems more difficult than those of other city churches (41-1).

free circumstances to feel a sense of involvement and responsibility for congregations in more troubled situations. A definite obstacle to such planning is the present emphasis on congregational autonomy and self-rule in most Protestant denominations.

D. ENVIRONS

Status in Neighborhood

It is obvious from Figure 15 that Bethlehem is firmly established as a key church, if not the key church, in its changing community. The relatively high score for Zion shows that in spite of all the tensions and fears and problems within this congregation, members feel that the church is rather highly regarded in its neighborhood. In spite of the uphill battle which is being waged on the matter of integration and in spite of the extensive opposition to it within the congregation, there is apparently a significant amount of pride and recognition for what is being done. Quite often mixed feelings accompany institutional change,

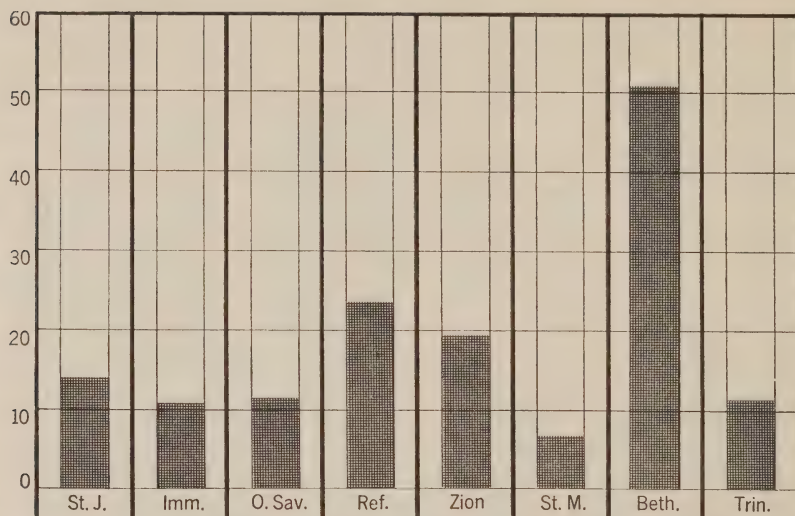


Fig.15 Percentage of members who believe their church is considered more important than others in the area by local people (55-1).

so that while many members of urban congregations are openly opposing program adjustments and policy changes, there is a certain latent joy and sense of pride in doing that which is right and necessary.

Urban Problems

Before turning to the members' appraisal of their churches' involvement in urban life, we must see how much they feel affected by such problems as anonymity, intercultural tensions, and mobility (Figure 16). Loneliness tends to be a relatively acute problem in downtown churches and much less of a problem in the suburban church. St. Mark's does not feel this concern because it has been such a closely-knit fellowship over the years, more or less oblivious to its shifting community. Bethlehem shows another suburban characteristic with its extremely low score here. These figures on anonymity should be compared with those on age and familiness (Figs. 2, 16 and 17, Chapter 9). Obviously Zion and Bethlehem feel most affected by intercultural tensions, Zion reflecting its uncertainty with an extremely high response. In the category on mobility about half the total membership recognized this pressing urban problem. Reformation, however, is in a homogeneous and stable neighborhood—and its mobility expectations are quite low, as noted earlier. But the low score for St. John's is enigmatic—apparently its

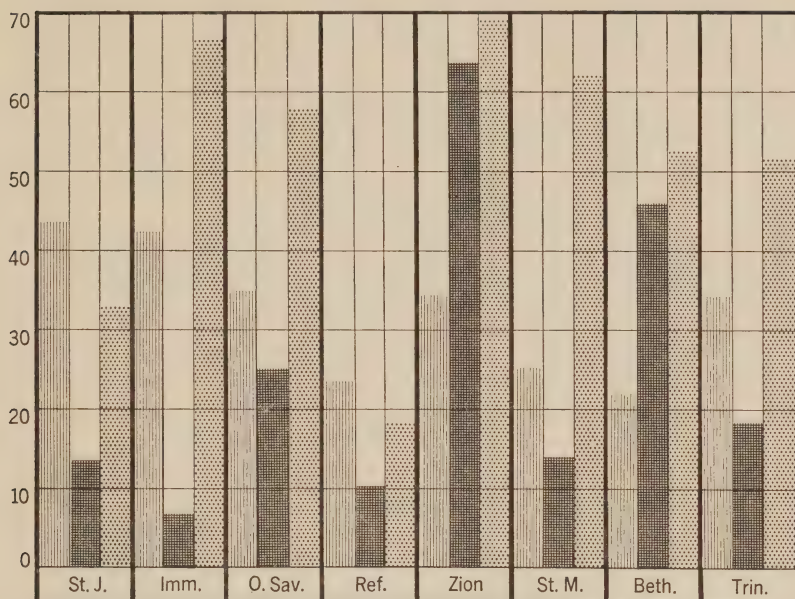


Fig.16 Percentage of members who believe the following problems have at least some effect on congregation—

- loneliness of a big city (56-5,6).
- ill feeling between different groups (58-1,2).
- population mobility (59-1,2).

members who live in the suburbs are either not aware of what goes on downtown or do not recognize it as a problem.

On the whole, a gratifyingly large proportion of the members of these eight churches are aware of problems facing their churches. To creatively transform this kind of awareness into concern and more effective programing and proclamation of the gospel in each situation—this is the challenge facing the urban church leadership.

Chapter 12

Perception and Evaluation of the Neighborhood and the Church's Involvement

The displacement of congregations is a major concern in changing urban areas. Congregations in the shifting urban centers of today, unlike those in smaller and more stable communities, find themselves with a membership that is constantly in flux. Unless deliberate and continuing efforts are made to relate the congregations to their communities, they all too easily become detached from them. There is a distinctly discernible sequence of events—a process—whereby congregations do become detached or displaced from their communities.

In the earliest stages of this detachment, with members gradually moving out of the community, the evangelistic thrust of the congregation is to follow “natural” leads or contacts without giving much thought to any discrepancy between the type of people living in the neighborhood and the type which predominates in the congregation. Gradually the congregation becomes aware that the newcomers in the neighborhood are indeed somewhat different from the membership; then it usually makes a renewed and deliberate effort to re-establish the congregation as a homogeneous group of people. Next, a certain uneasiness arises, a feeling that the vitality of the congregation has become drained and something drastic and dramatic needs to be done. This sometimes results in the launching of a building program, which generally produces temporary resurgence while the gap between the neighborhood and the church's constituency continues to widen. Some congregations at this point do make an about-face and really commit themselves to serving their community. But others persist in ignoring this responsibility, and soon comments such as these are heard among members: “We can't reach these people in our neighborhood. They don't want our church. They have their own churches. We ought to get out where our people live.” The detachment is now ready to become displacement.

Such a pattern shows how important it is to discern clearly congregational attitudes toward their neighborhoods and toward the place

and work of the church in those neighborhoods. In this context as in others there is a need to differentiate between the neighborhood church and the downtown church. The downtown church will, by virtue of its unique role, have a scattered constituency—nevertheless, it still has a continuing responsibility to its immediate neighborhood. The neighborhood church, on the other hand, should be identified as closely as possible with its own immediate community, and should judiciously work against the growth of a widely-scattered constituency.

In any case, both types of churches must be fully aware of the fact that they are urban churches in urban settings. They cannot afford to maintain the essentially rural mentality that has characterized Protestant churches in the past and manifests itself in suspicion and hostility towards life in the city.

A. THE NEIGHBORHOOD

General Rating

Among the three downtown churches is a wide range of opinion about the neighborhoods (Figure 1). St. John's is located in the business and commercial district of its metropolitan area. Despite the fact that some attractive apartment buildings and apartment hotels have been built recently near the church, only one-fifth of the members feel that the neighborhood is a "fairly nice" or "very nice" residential area. This probably reveals that many members are not yet aware of urban renewal in the neighborhood; it also reveals a primarily family-type, suburban-residence congregation reacting against the urban high-rise apartment. However, at Immanuel four-fifths of the congregation show a much more general acceptance of the high-rise apartment as a way of life. Also, the members here are more conscious of distinct renovations and improvements in the church's neighborhood in recent years.

Zion is by far the most critical in the first two categories on Figure 1, which is only to be expected in the midst of influx by lower-income Negroes into a large northern metropolitan center. This attitude toward the community has a heavy influence on responses of this congregation to many parts of the questionnaire. Notable in its response in these first two categories is Trinity, where, even though it is in a lower-class blighted neighborhood, the members give responses as favorable toward the community as those of any neighborhood church. Undoubtedly a more typical congregation in the same neighborhood—one with a longer history and a more scattered membership—would show a much more negative attitude toward such environs. To impose middle-class values, standards, and judgments upon lower economic groups such as those in Trinity would certainly lessen its potential for

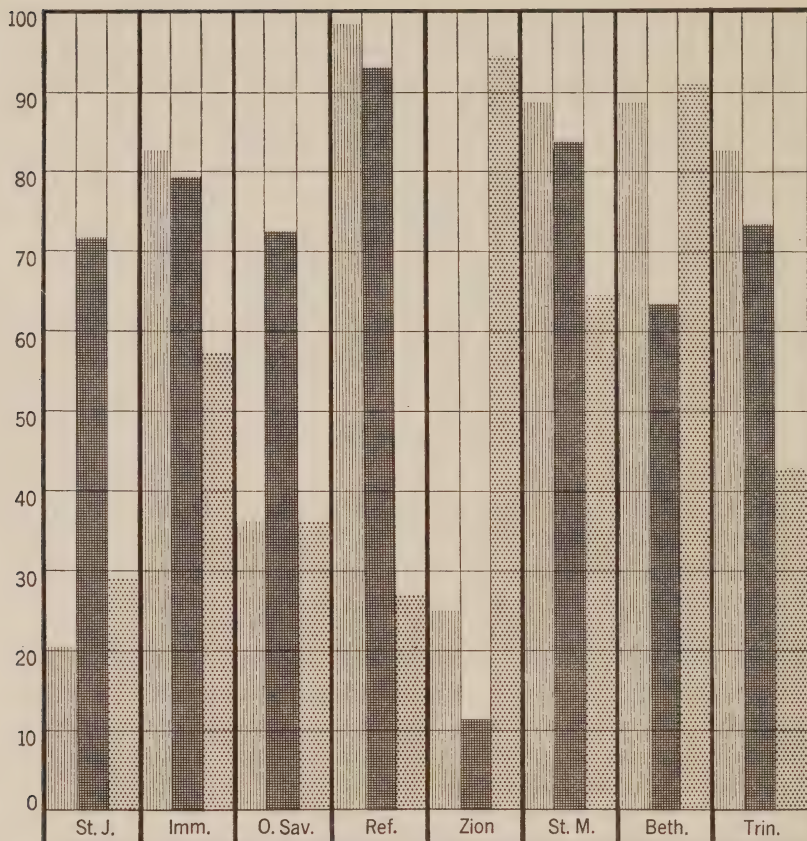


Fig. 1 ■■■■ Percentage of members who feel their neighborhood is at least a "fairly nice place to live" (43-1,2).

■ Percentage of members who feel that "change" has not affected neighborhood for the worse (43-5,6).

■■■ Percentage of members who feel that there has been a change of the "kind of residents" within past five years (43-9).

serving the community. Culture should be a vehicle for, not a barrier against, communicating the gospel.

Many other interesting observations could be made about this aspect of this graph—for example, the higher "satisfaction" with environs in semi-suburban Reformation. Almost as high approval of surroundings is expressed at Bethlehem, coupled with recognition that the neighborhood is in the process of change. Here is a positive attitude in the midst of healthily realistic appraisal of what is happening in the area.

Social Problems

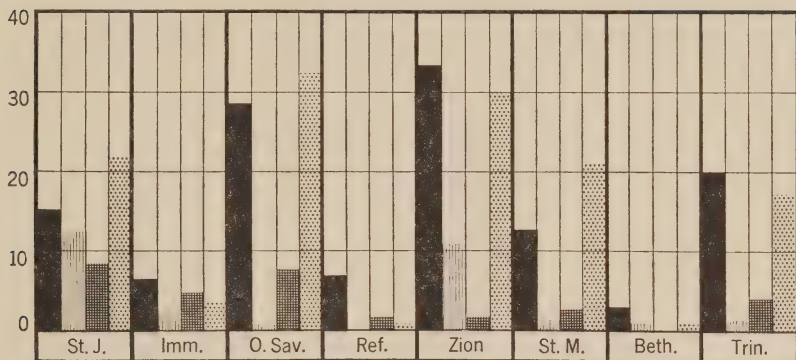


Fig. 2 Percentage of members who feel that the following problems exist in the neighborhood—

- juvenile delinquency (49-1).
- drug addiction (49-4).
- mental illness (49-7).
- slums (50-1).

In order to appraise members' social awareness specific problems were listed and respondents were asked if each existed in their neighborhood. The graph above includes four of the problems—juvenile delinquency, drug addiction, mental illness, and slums. It should be remembered that this and the following graph record only members' opinions and not necessarily the actual seriousness of the problems. Obviously, Zion is more aware of social problems than any of the other churches in our sample; it cannot be accused of ostrich tactics. In the third category (mental illness) the three downtown churches score considerably higher than the others. Undoubtedly this is not due to any higher occurrence of mental illness in the core areas, but to the fact that part of the unique ministry of the downtown church is to work with this problem more than the neighborhood church. The greater anonymity that characterizes downtown churches, which allows someone to be a member without being involved in many personal contacts, is conducive to this kind of work. Specific services in this area of pastoral care for the mentally disturbed and ill should be a special area of concern for the downtown church.

It is notable that Bethlehem has an even lower response than Reformation throughout this graph; there may be a conscious insistence here that "all is well" (in contrast to Zion). On the whole this graph

supports a contention that each neighborhood has an individuality which makes it difficult to generalize about the social problems in the different types of churches. (Note, for example, the definite dissimilarity of response among downtown churches.)

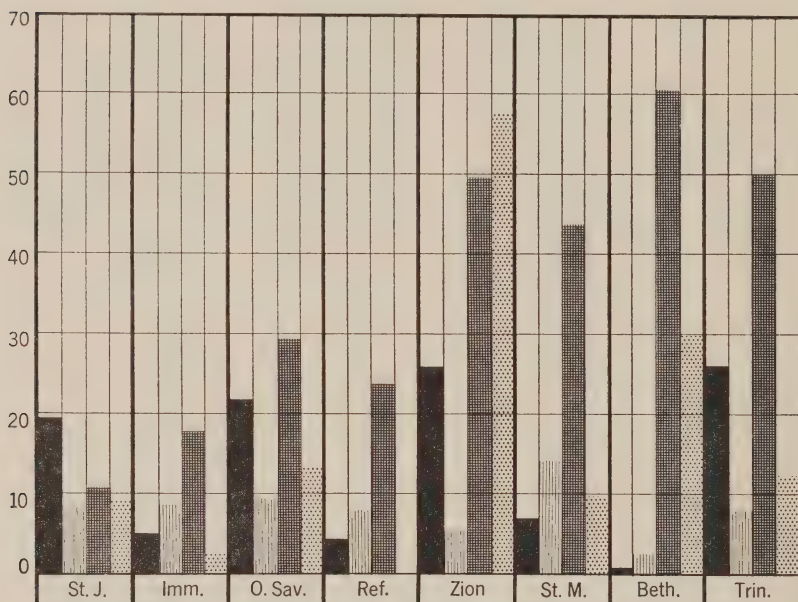


Fig. 3 Percentage of members who feel that the following problems exist in the neighborhood—

- alcoholism (50-4).
- rapid increase of elderly residents (50-7).
- overcrowding of schools (51-1).
- racial conflict (51-4).

The other four social problems in the questionnaire are alcoholism, the aged, overcrowded schools, and racial conflict. In their high response to the first of these, Trinity's members seem to be admitting to a problem which is quite real to them and in which they are decidedly involved (see chapter 8). On the other hand, St. John's, Our Saviour's, and Zion are probably making value judgments without intimate knowledge of the extent of the problem in the neighborhood. The low responses of the downtown churches on the school situation are probably not realistic either, but in this case represent a real lack of awareness and detachment from the problem as it exists. The different

stages of integration at Zion and Bethlehem are again brought out in this graph—the latter has already passed the stage of critical conflict.

New Residents

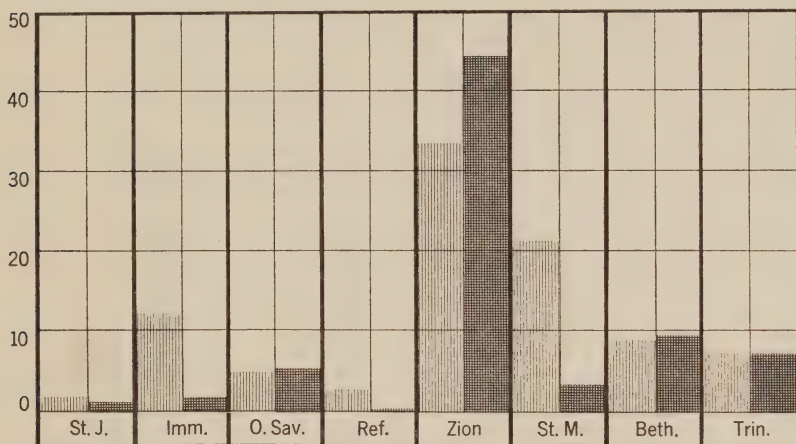


Fig. 4 Percentage of members who believe new residents, in comparison to old, are—

less friendly (44-2).

less well educated (44-6).

Only respondents who answered "Yes" to the question, "Over the last five years, has there been a change in the kind of people living in the neighborhood of your church?" answered questions about characteristics of new residents. This and the next graph should therefore be seen in relation to Figure 1.

Zion's members quite obviously have a low opinion of the friendliness and education of newer residents, who are mostly Negro. But the relatively high figures for Immanuel and St. Mark's in the "friendliness" category probably reflect a way of life in that particular metropolis. In the neighborhood of Bethlehem it is a fact that newer residents are better educated than the older residents—yet 9.7 per cent of the congregation feels otherwise, thus documenting the power of the stereotype. A stereotype image of a racial type apparently remains even after successful integration.

Three other characteristics of the new resident—income, nationality, familiness—are shown in Figure 5 as they are perceived by congregational members. In the first category appears again the power of the stereotype. In spite of the fact that the newcomer usually has a higher

income than the older resident in most of these neighborhoods, more than 10 per cent of the respondents hold a contrary opinion. Of course, much of this comes from Zion, where there is little doubt that the economic discrepancies between the newcomer and the older resident are contributing causes to the ill feeling. And the newcomer in the neighborhood of Zion is actually in a lower economic bracket.

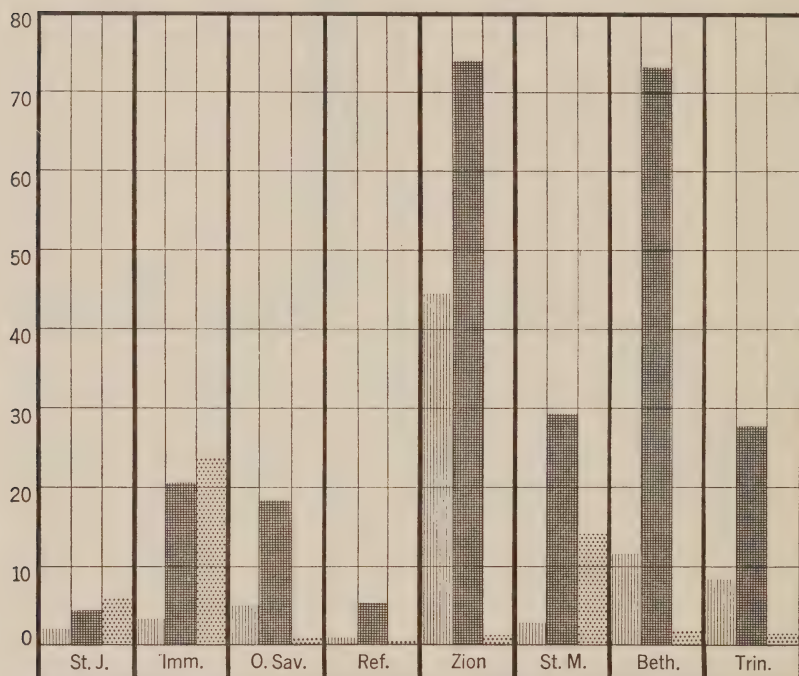


Fig. 5 Percentage of members who believe new residents, in comparison to old, have—

-  lower incomes (45-2).
-  different nationality background (45-5).
-  less children (46-2).

In the category on familiness it can be seen that the neighborhoods of St. Mark's, Immanuel, and St. John's are becoming increasingly inhabited by single or unattached adults or by couples with fewer, if any, children. What is notable is that relatively few of the members are conscious of this fact—they seem to have little idea of the kind of people who inhabit the high-rise apartments surrounding their churches. It seems then that on the whole urban churches lack under-

standing of newcomer groups, a fact which poses a barrier for the church in the fulfilment of its mission. Certainly congregations need to be helped in developing an awareness and understanding of, as well as concern for, the newcomer.

There is an interesting similarity between the first two categories on Figure 6, suggesting that the average member tends to equate Protestant strength in a community with general interest in church. Con-

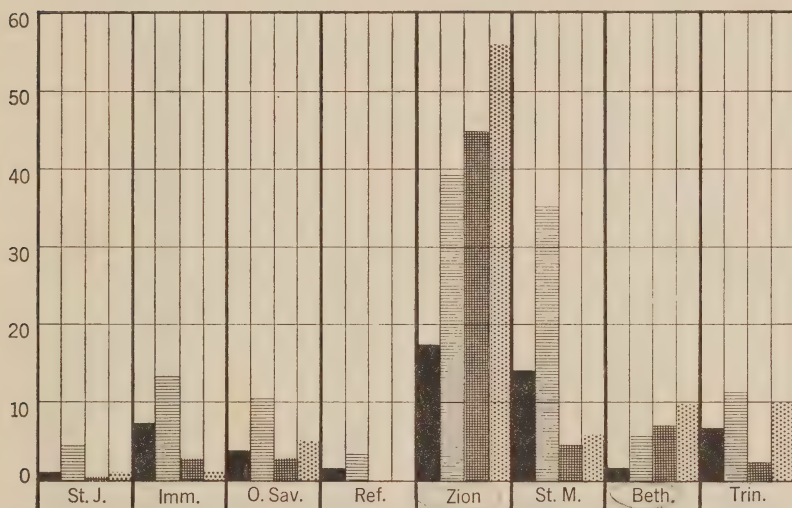


Fig. 6 Percentage of members who believe that new residents are—

- less represented by Protestants than older residents (46-6).
- ▨ less interested in church than older residents (47-2).
- ▩ helping to make the congregation "weaker" (47-6).
- ▤ helping to make the neighborhood "worse" (48-2).

siderably more members feel newcomers are disinterested in church than feel there are fewer Protestants among them, but the responses to the second question are in direct proportion to those to the first. Generally, experience has shown that congregations tend to be overly critical of the newcomer and his religious life. This attitude helps ease their feeling of responsibility to approach him—either he is of "different background" (therefore unreachable), or he is "not interested" in church (also unreachable).

It is worth noting that Bethlehem and Trinity, the two neighborhood churches, which are definitely serving their neighborhoods and are honestly committed to witness to all people in their neighborhoods,

have a perception of newcomers' religious life quite different from that of Zion and St. Mark's. Zion in this graph again is by far the most critical of all the churches toward newcomers.

B. THE CHURCH'S INVOLVEMENT

Outreach to Newcomer

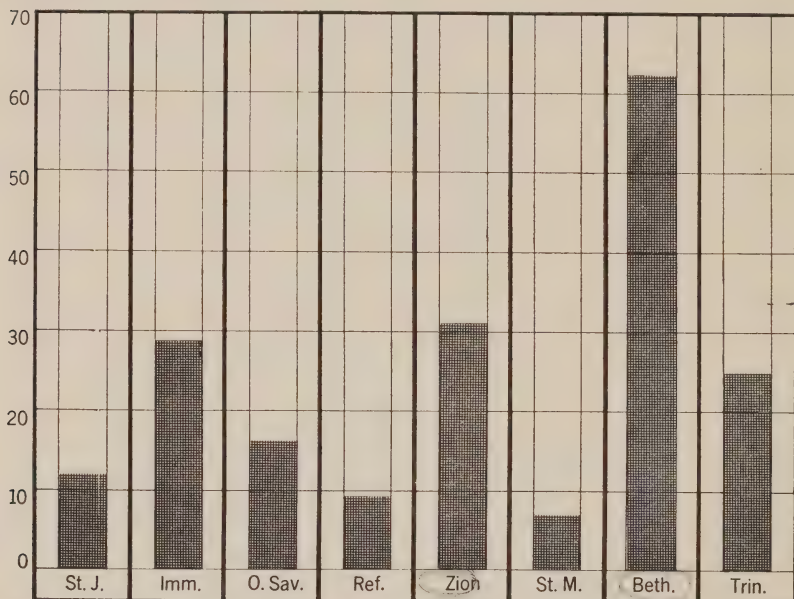


Fig. 7 ■ Percentage of members who feel their congregation is doing a "very good" job in reaching newcomers in the community (48-5).

What is the members' impression of the work their churches are actually doing in the community? The remainder of this chapter attempts to answer that question in part, beginning with the congregation's rating of its own outreach to the newcomer in the community. Naturally, this graph should be compared with the three above which dealt with the members' "image" of the newcomer.

On the whole, the responses are not gratifying and should give cause for concern. Only at Bethlehem does more than half the congregation feel that a very good job is being done. Immanuel, Zion, and Trinity are more confident of their outreach than the rest of the churches, but still far less than Bethlehem. There is something to be said for each, however. Immanuel faces a difficult situation where it is actually physically difficult to gain entrance into the high-rise luxury apartments that

dominate its neighborhood. As for Zion, in spite of the dim view it takes toward the newcomer, significantly it is finding some satisfaction in its outreach to him—this may be another example of concealed pride in doing good for the community which underlies general hostility. Trinity's response might well be higher if members were more informed about church life in general and could see their church in relation to others.

Effect on Social Problems

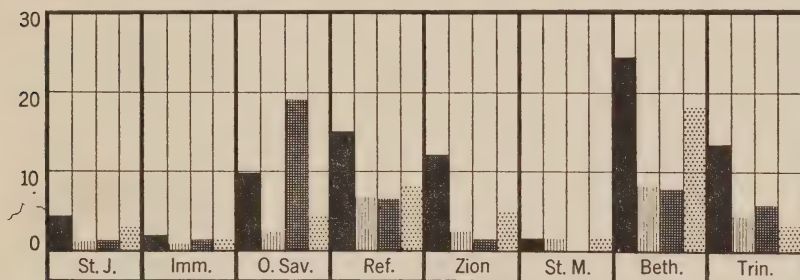


Fig. 8 Percentage of members who feel their congregation is doing a "very good" job in dealing with the following problems—

- juvenile delinquency (52-1).
- ▨ drug addiction (52-5).
- ▩ mental illness (52-9).
- ▤ slums (53-1).

This and the next graph show the congregation's appraisal of their effectiveness in dealing with the specific neighborhood problems already considered above; these figures should be compared with the perception of the problems shown in Figures 2 and 3. For example, on the problem of juvenile delinquency there is an obvious disparity between the above graph and Figure 2: 16.2 per cent of the St. John's membership indicates awareness of the problem, but only 4.4 per cent feel their church is highly effective in dealing with it; 29 per cent of Our Saviour's indicates the same awareness, but only 9.8 per cent feel that enough is being done.

The outstanding exception to this pattern is Bethlehem, where only 3.2 per cent are aware of the problem in the neighborhood, yet 24.7 per cent feel that a good job is being done. The respondents at Bethlehem have a consistently high appraisal of their church's achievements in the various problem areas. Of note, too, are the generally high responses of Reformation in its semi-suburban setting. And special note

should be made of the high response at Our Saviour's in its appraisal of the job being done to help people who are mentally ill. Apparently the pastor is spending a great deal of his time in the role of counselor, with a considerable degree of effectiveness.

Comparing Figure 9 with Figure 3, it is apparent that St. John's is doing very little about the rather obvious problem of alcoholism—

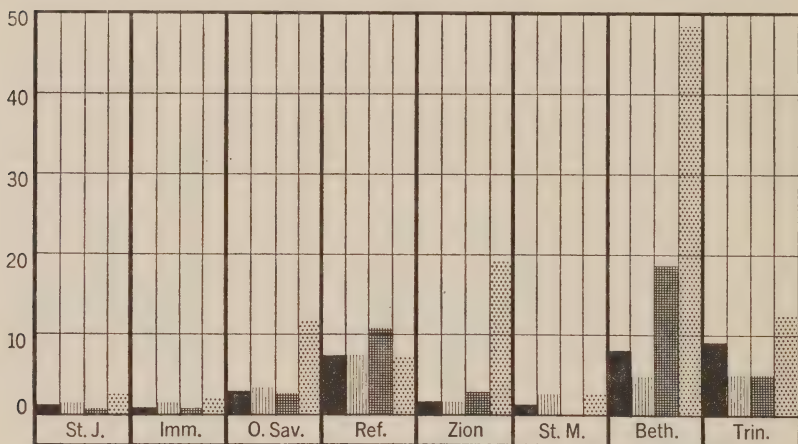


Fig. 9 Percentage of members who feel their congregation is doing a "very good" job in dealing with the following problems—

- alcoholism (53-5).
- rapid increase of elderly residents (53-9).
- overcrowding of schools (54-1).
- racial conflict (54-5).

19.9 per cent of the respondents are aware of the problem, but only 1 per cent feel that their congregation is doing a very good job helping to solve it. An equally disturbing comparison can be made in relation to this problem at Our Saviour's and at Zion. On the other hand, one gets the distinct impression not only that alcoholism exists in the neighborhood of Trinity, but that it is being dealt with rather effectively by the church. And two definite exceptions to the general comparison concerning alcoholism are Bethlehem and Reformation, where the problem is described as minimal but also as being dealt with quite effectively. In both of these communities there are many features of Suburbia, and the figures would suggest that although alcoholism is not a visible problem in the neighborhood, it does exist within the congregational membership and is being helped by the church's program.

Many interesting conjectures can be made about these graphs. For example, there is something in the program and involvements of Reformation and Bethlehem which warrants significantly higher responses as to their effectiveness in alleviating overcrowding in public schools; but neither operates a parochial school or even a nursery. Obviously, members of the two churches are simply reflecting their feeling that their churches have adopted a responsible stance in the community—in the semi-suburban setting, crowded educational facilities are a typical community concern.

Effect on General Concerns

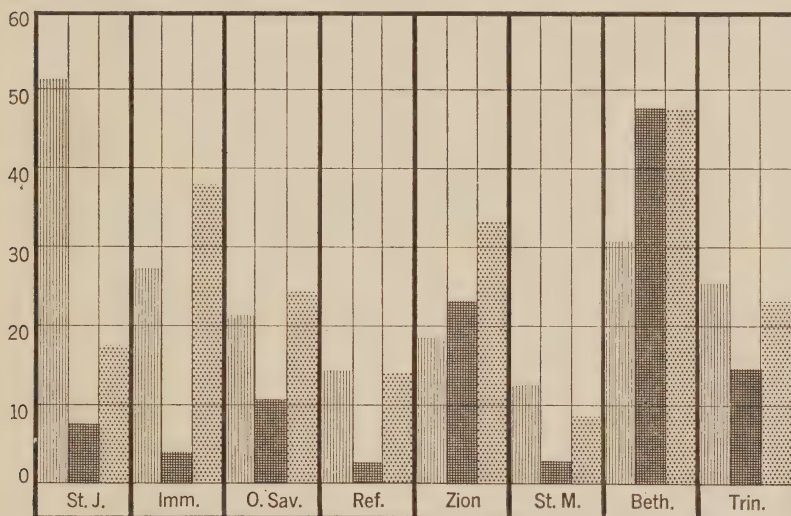


Fig.10 Percentage of members who feel their congregation is doing "a lot" to help people meet the following general problems—

- loneliness caused by the city's bigness (57-1).
- ill feeling between people of different backgrounds (58-5).
- the needs of new people moving into neighborhood (59-5).

This chapter closes with an examination of the members' evaluation of their churches' work in areas of concern which are common to city life—anonymity, intercultural tension, and population mobility. These general problems have been looked at in some of their component parts in earlier sections of this chapter, but this graph should provide a sort of summary for this part of the study.

St. John's, Immanuel, Bethlehem, and Trinity feel themselves to be considerably more effective in coping with the problem of loneliness in

the big city than the other churches. This is especially true of St. John's, situated among hotels and apartment hotels. But on the whole there would seem to be a lack of effectiveness in this area. Can city churches identify themselves with the needs and the experiences of the people to whom they have an opportunity to minister? Do they understand and sympathize with the depths of loneliness experienced in the city, and do they realize the church's role in the midst of this need?

The third category on the graph shows that St. John's does not feel it is doing much to meet the needs of new people moving into the neighborhood, even though it has such a high score in the matter of perception of loneliness. In contrast, Immanuel has a closer correlation between responses to the two questions. Perhaps the response of St. John's on loneliness, as well as others on the graph, is based purely on personal experience—that is, respondents themselves feel benefited in this respect. Similarly, the responses to the third question may only constitute an impression of the general growth pattern and numerical vitality of the church. In view of the low responses of the members on specific problems, it is probably true that this graph shows a higher consciousness of the degree of the churches' involvement and outreach than actually exists.

This chapter, like the three preceding it, has again pointed up how different are the kinds of neighborhoods and challenges confronting the churches. Problems of many kinds exist in a variety of degrees in these neighborhoods, and congregations look at them with varying degrees of perception and judgment. The role of the responsible church in our urban areas certainly must include a sensitivity to and intelligent awareness of the neighborhood and its problems. It must also include involvement in the remedial processes at work in the community and proclamation of the full gospel to the total man in his actual situation.

CONCLUSION

The churches we have looked at in this book have all been facing change of one kind or another. Several, such as Our Saviour's and St. Mark's, have found it difficult, if not impossible, to adapt to their changing situations. Others, such as Immanuel and Bethlehem, have not only been able to face up to the challenge of their new situations but have found in their response to them a new strength and a new life flowing into their congregations. Changes in the neighborhoods and communities of our land will continue to take place in the future. And the ability of committed Christians, their congregations, and the church at large to recognize the dimensions and the challenges of these changes will determine the effectiveness of the church of the future. The church must be responsible, relevant, and resourceful.

In fulfilling its obligation to proclaim Christ as Lord and Saviour to all men, the church must assume a responsibility for its total parish area. For the downtown church this obviously has a dual dimension—it must serve not only the immediate geographical area around the church but also the wider metropolitan area. The city church must not think of its responsibility as being limited only to the membership but extending to all people in the parish area. To what extent has this parish concern actually become a part of American church life?

We have seen how at Trinity a pastor and his people have become very much identified with their parish area. A responsible concern for all people in the parish, along with all of the community's problems and agencies and institutions, is a part of the continuing mission of this congregation. Quite a different sense of responsibility is shown by St. Mark's, where concern seems to be directed almost exclusively inward toward the membership of the congregation.

As noted earlier, the churches in this study were not selected on the basis of being "outstanding" city churches. Rather they were chosen because they are examples of churches that have adapted or failed to adapt themselves in a variety of urban centers and situations.

Men are only too ready to avoid and reject the gospel of Jesus Christ proclaimed by the churches. It is imperative that the gospel be made as relevant as possible to each given situation. The intellectual level in sermons and educational courses must be quite different in a congrega-

tion composed mostly of people who have not finished high school than in a congregation whose members are nearly all college graduates. The spiritual needs of the young adult are quite different from those of the senior citizen; those of the young mother are still another type, and so on. Also, the newcomer to the urban North or from the rural South sees life in quite a different light than does the second or third generation resident of a northern city.

Awareness of the facts of community change is, of course, essential to relevancy. There is no substitute for actual experience and participation in the life of the city church, but certain auxiliary resources can be put to use. Churchmen should avail themselves of these in order to become more aware of and develop a better understanding of their situations. The book, *Urban Church Planning*¹, has enabled many congregations to develop a better grasp of their situation. Other books on urban sociology are also useful. City planning commissions, urban renewal agencies, welfare councils, sociologists, and numerous other resources are available to assist urban churches.

Resourcefulness is an elusive quality. Church historians and theologians tell us that there are no set organizational patterns and structures that are inherently more Christian than others. The Christian church has become organized in quite different ways around the world. But whether a church employs the episcopal, presbyterial, or congregational pattern of organization, the tendency always seems to be one of perpetuating the status quo, not only in matters of church government but also in programing and staffing. Rigidity and inflexibility on the part of city churches in the midst of change leads to serious difficulty.

To what extent are the city churches of today ready to make the necessary changes? Are they afraid that perhaps they will be guilty of committing some ecclesiastical error if they deviate from the traditional church program? And are pastors and members of today's city churches enabled to be more free and resourceful in their adaptation to change by virtue of their theological understanding, or has their theology failed to come to grips with such matters?

Thinking back over the eight churches and the unique life story of each of them, one is impressed by the many factors which have contributed to their present situations. What has sometimes been referred to as the "law of parsimony" is quite often at work in serious appraisals of the city church—that is, the appraiser has fallen into the temptation to oversimplify the complexities and dynamics of urban church life. Suggestions and proposals are offered in the assurance that they will

¹By Walter Kloetzli and Arthur Hillman (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958).

make a congregation effective. Not that many or even most of the remedies do not have a great deal of truth in them, but usually they provide only a small part of what is needed. Some of the suggestions offered to urban pastors are comparable to that offered by someone who firmly believes that all juvenile delinquency would be completely abolished if only adequate recreation facilities were provided for the youth of the community. Certainly recreation can help answer the problem of delinquency, but attention must also be given to housing, schools, family counseling services, police protection, and so on.

The personality of the minister—his strengths and weaknesses—have necessarily received considerable attention in the preceding pages. But there is no intention to encourage the oversimplified generalization that too often is heard in a statement like, "Just get a good man in there and everything will be all right!" Some inner-city parishes are extremely difficult, and even the best available pastor might achieve nothing more than to hold a decline in the strength of the congregation to a minimum during the period of transition occurring in its neighborhood. Many "good men" avoid such parishes at least partly because they feel that many of their fellow pastors, along with key laymen and church executives, do not have the deeper understanding of inner-city work which will prevent them from evaluating the effectiveness of an urban ministry by the same statistical yardstick as is applied to more "favorably" situated suburban churches.

On the other hand, one senses in this study that a truly prophetic role is often required in downtown and inner-city ministries. This means that the pastor must have a sound theological undergirding for his work and must be of a sufficiently mature faith that he neither strikes out in futile anger nor withdraws in hopeless despair in the face of opposition or lethargy. The crossing of cultural lines and the assimilation of a wide variety of people into the fellowship of the inner-city church is seldom accomplished unless the pastor plays the role of a prophet, fully prepared to find himself with but minimal support from those about him.

There are other lessons to be drawn from this study. To what extent have city churches followed the pattern of Immanuel Church in studying their community and their congregation and then setting out to develop a long-range plan? Unfortunately, very little. It is also worth noting that Immanuel deliberately attempted to re-educate its members about the changing role of their congregation in their particular community. A certain amount of courage is required to undertake a venture of this kind, for in a sense it involves a willingness to admit mistakes and confess them openly to an outsider.

One gets the feeling that such self-examination has occurred at Our Saviour's but that willingness to discuss it objectively with a qualified outsider is lacking. Instead, there is a kind of "glorying in our misfortunes." As long as churches, like individual people, can go on talking about their problems and their mistakes, they really don't have to face up to them and won't have to do anything about them. Self-examination of this sort can become just as much of a defense and an escape from reality as complete unwillingness to face the facts of a situation.

Such words as "adaptation," "resourcefulness" and "innovation" have appeared repeatedly throughout this text, and a word of warning about them should be set down here. Adaptation for the sake of adaptation and innovation for its own sake are not being advocated. But in a changing situation the application of the gospel is almost forced to change too; to put it another way, the response must be related to the challenge. Especially in the midst of rapid social change, there are always those who advocate the complete overthrow and rejection of all that exists at the time along with the contributions of the past, and who believe with the same fervor in an automatic blessing of that which is yet to come. Whether this rejection is based merely upon a rebellious personal nature, a lethargy which is unwilling to understand or to apply available resources, or a thinly veiled egocentrism, it has no place in urban church work.

Have the city churches sufficiently explored the possibilities of adapting existing church and community programs to their local situations? At Immanuel considerable use was made of denominational insights and experience in the adaptation of the program. On the other hand, at St. John's some of the specialized services and programs put into effect were either borrowed from other denominations or created afresh out of the response to needs as they emerged. In contrast, Bethlehem, with its significant leadership in community organizations, worked very closely with community projects.

Turning to denominational resources for aid and understanding is not always a guarantee of success. In the past, many denominational leaders have exhibited somewhat less understanding of and concern for community differences and problems than they do today. Part of St. Mark's difficulty today undoubtedly stems from an earlier period in its history when denominational executives attempted to close it in spite of the significant area for potential service in which it was situated. And Trinity experienced some serious problems as a result of a fund-raising campaign of a type currently used by the denomination but which has not been adapted to its situation. It can be honestly stated, however, that a growing number of pastors, laymen, and church

executives are becoming much better informed in matters of community and congregational characteristics and changes.

Pertinent to the matter of the church's relationship to its neighborhood is the theological position behind it. It is interesting to note the varying degrees of Christian social responsibility evidenced in the eight churches. To what extent do seminaries help prepare future pastors to have this kind of responsibility? And how much understanding are they receiving of some of the methods and techniques presently used by various organizations in coping with community problems? In addition to carrying out their traditional task of reaching the individual, pastors today have the responsibility to witness to the social organizations, power structures, and forces of our society. Finally, are the sermons and educational programs in our city churches realistically relating the Christian faith to life situations or are they content merely to dispense platitudes on personal piety?

The differences between the eight churches are most apparent in Section II where one glances in quick statistical fashion from one congregation to the next. Here it is evident that the amount of urban background in the congregational membership, for example, as well as class level, familiness, and other factors, should have a bearing on the congregational program. Also, congregations which find their own characteristics to be quite different from those of their communities should take heed lest they become so different that they lose contact with their communities.

To what extent have the recruitment or evangelism efforts of urban churches been adapted to their specific settings? And how many congregations are merely coasting along in hopes that the word will get around that they are there? One can't help but be disturbed by the attitude of the St. Mark's member who looked forward to the day when "the neighborhood will get accustomed to the church"—as though status in a community were some kind of natural phenomenon which cannot be influenced by ordinary mortals.

Not only must the role of the church be redefined today but also the role of the pastor. Do members of city churches tend to think of their pastors as serving the church of their childhood? City pastors face a host of different demands upon their time and a variety of problems which are quite different from those of the stable rural parish. Not a few of the interviews revealed that the members lack an awareness of just how the minister spends his time and also have an unrealistic idea of how he ought to spend his time.

The words "perception" and "evaluation" are key words in Section II. It is obvious that in one or two of our eight churches the members

see very little of what is actually occurring in the neighborhood of their church and, of course, care very little. In others there is an intimate involvement and a real awareness of what is taking place in the community of the church. The same variation of interest and involvement in "normal" church affairs is also evidenced by the members. Are their evaluations of their situations matters of hostile rejection or mature acceptance? Are they matters of superficial endorsement or intelligent understanding?

A host of other questions and comments could arise concerning these eight churches and the implications of their stories. It is hoped that what insights are offered have enabled the reader to become more sensitive to the challenges presented by our emerging urban communities. Further studies from others around the country working with the same data should provide more detailed and specific conclusions than can be offered in a general picture such as this book provides. It is also hoped that as the church goes forth in faith to serve the Christ, an increasing number of city churches may become more responsible, relevant, and resourceful.

AFTERWORD

A Sociologist Looks at the Parish Church

Charles Y. Glock

*Professor of Sociology and Director, Survey Research Center,
University of California, Berkeley*

The publication of the Reverend Walter Kloetzli's book is one among a number of signs of an increasing interest on the church's part in the possible application of the social sciences to church planning, evaluation, and strategy. This development is paralleled by the increased attention being given by social scientists to studying religion's place in society. The current *rapprochement* between the churches and the social sciences stands in contrast to the situation that existed in the past. Until recently, the links between the two have been tenuous indeed.

The absence of past interaction is, in part, a result of the absence in the social sciences of a sustained interest in doing research on religion. The now classic studies which were done at the turn of the last century were not followed up in any systematic way, and over the last fifty years the amount of significant work done on religion has been almost negligible. At the same time, few churchmen were aware of even the limited work that was being done. Among those who were, many were skeptical about the possibility of subjecting religious phenomena to research; some were alarmed by what they perceived to be an overly critical point of view, as was evidenced, for example, by the reaction of many clergymen in the 1930's to the Lynds' *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition*; still others felt that what the social sciences were saying about religion was so abstract as to be entirely removed from the practical problems actually faced by the churches.

The present change in the climate of opinion has not, as yet, assumed major proportions. Social scientists are not being besieged with requests to conduct studies on the church's behalf, nor has religion become a major subject matter in sociology or psychology. Skepticism and uneasiness about the research process when applied to religion is

still prevalent. Books on the sociology and psychology of religion are not very widely read by clergymen nor, for that matter, are they being produced in great numbers by social scientists. Nevertheless, there are signs that the tide is turning. In the churches this is indicated by the growth of the Bureau of Research and Survey of the National Council of Churches, by the establishment of research departments, however small, in an increasing number of denominational headquarters, by the increasing attention being given to social science training in the nation's theological schools, and by the publication of books such as this one. In social sciences it is evidenced by the addition of courses in the sociology and psychology of religion at a number of the nation's leading universities, by the reintroduction of sessions on these topics at the annual meetings of the American Sociological and the American Psychological Associations, and by the fact that there has been a slight but noticeable increase in social science literature on religion. In addition, through the establishment of such professional societies as the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion and the Religious Research Association, provision is being made for developing a closer liaison between the churches and the academic community of social scientists.

In part these recent developments reflect the growing maturity of the social sciences. It is being increasingly recognized that they can contribute, both actually and potentially, to helping us understand ourselves and our institutions. These developments also reflect a deepening concern on the church's part to meet the many challenges of a rapidly changing and ever more urbanized society and a new awareness on the part of many social scientists of religion's abiding impact on society. Still, the dialogue between the social sciences and the churches must be carefully nurtured if it is to mature. The interpretation of the one to the other is a formidable task, and there are perhaps too few who are taking it seriously. For one who feels that carrying on the dialogue is important, the danger seems to be that the channels of communication will not be opened widely enough and that, where they are, churchmen and social scientists will not overcome the differences of language and point of view that still often divide them.

This essay, taking its point of departure from such observations, constitutes an analysis, albeit a circumscribed and speculative one, of the contemporary parish church from the perspective of the social sciences, particularly sociology. Its purposes are to exemplify what is meant by this perspective, to report what the social sciences have already learned about some aspects of the church both as a community and as an organization, and to indicate some of the potential contributions of social science research to the church's mission. A major con-

sequence of examining an institution from the standpoint of the social sciences is usually to raise questions concerning the gap between its actual and its ideal values. This essay raises these questions in what is hoped will be construed as a constructive way.

The Parish Ministry

The minister is in many respects the central figure in the life of a church, and it seems appropriate, therefore, to begin with some observations on his role. One obvious fact is that it is a multi-faceted role. The minister, in the course of his work, must don many hats and perform in various and sundry ways. Less obvious perhaps is the role's unique symbolic quality. In a very special sense, the minister stands as a man apart, representing for others a symbol of the divine. Finally, the minister is also an organizational man bound by and responsible to a bureaucracy, whose traditions are rooted in denominational history. Each aspect of the ministerial role has its implications for what the minister is, for how effectively he performs, and for the authority he exercises.

The multi-faceted character of the ministerial role is most evident in the parish church. There, typically, the minister is the only full-time, professionally-trained person on the staff. The burden of responsibility for the church consequently falls primarily on him. In the exercise of this responsibility, the minister is at once pastor and preacher, administrator and organizer, counselor and educator. His multi-faceted role poses a number of problems to him. One is the problem of acquiring the competence to perform these many functions, another the problem of judging the relative importance of each function and dividing his time accordingly, and a third the related problem of resolving the cross pressures which inevitably arise where there is more to be done than can effectively be done.

The background, training, and skills required of the contemporary minister stand in sharp contrast to what was demanded of him only so short a time as twenty or thirty years ago. The changes have come about not so much in his role as preacher and priest but in his role as pastor, administrator, organizer, and educator. It is becoming increasingly incumbent on the minister to bring an understanding of psychology and psychiatry to his role as a pastoral counselor and of sociology to his task of organizing the church's program to meet the problems of rapid urban change and suburban development. Nor can he reasonably ignore the fact that administration, too, is increasingly becoming a science and that the philosophy and techniques of education are constantly changing.

But can anyone, much less the minister, be expected to prepare himself in all of these manifold areas? The implicit premise of the contemporary church seems to be that he can—at least, this would seem to be indicated by the proliferation of courses in psychology and education in theological schools, by the establishment of specialized institutes in pastoral counseling, and by the pressures from denominational headquarters to have the minister give more attention to parish education and to the problems of the changing city. How realistic it is to hold this premise is an open question.

The difficulty, however, is to perceive any reasonable alternative. In other professions, the desirability of specialization is being increasingly recognized. But there it has been possible to foster the changes in organizational structures which allow specialization. This may become possible for the church if the ecumenical trend continues and there is a consequent decrease in the number and a concomitant increase in the size of churches. Presumably, large churches could afford professional staffs with personnel trained in specialized areas such as religious education or counseling. There is little evidence of planning for such an eventuality, nor, for that matter, is very serious attention being given to the desirability and feasibility of greater specialization within the ministerial role.

For the foreseeable future, it seems likely that the typical Protestant parish will be relatively small, there will be but one minister, and he will play a multi-dimensional role. It seems reasonable, therefore, to pursue the analysis with this model in mind. Given his manifold functions, deciding how to divide his time among them becomes a formidable task for the minister. What decision is made (and for what reasons) is likely to have significant influence on the character of the parish church.

How the minister actually does divide his time has recently been studied by the sociologist Samuel Blizzard,¹ who finds that the average minister spends most of his time, about 40 per cent of it, in performing the administrative duties of the parish—attending staff meetings, handling publicity, supervising and actually doing clerical and stenographic work, and administering the church's finances. About a quarter of his time, on the average, is devoted to pastoral duties—visiting, ministering to the sick and distressed, and counseling. The functions of preacher and priest take up about 20 per cent of his time, including the time devoted to sermon preparation. The remaining 15 per cent is divided between organizational work and parish education.

¹"The Minister's Dilemma," *Christian Century*, 73:17 (April 23, 1957).

These statistics raise two questions. Is this the way the average minister *wants* to spend his time? And is this the way he feels he *ought* to spend his time? Generally speaking, ministers are inclined to answer both questions in the negative. They feel that how they spend their time is largely out of their own hands and is dictated by the functional demands of the parish. What they feel they ought to be doing is devoting more of their energies to reflection, contemplation, and planning in connection with the more clearly religious aspects of their role. Whether ministers would actually do other things, given the opportunity, than they are doing or whether they merely feel that they ought to be doing different things is not answered in Blizzard's research.

A more fundamental issue concerns the basic values which guide the minister in allocating his time. This question has not been subjected to research, but even the casual observer of the American religious scene cannot help but note the great attention given to arranging programs, to meeting budgets, to increasing membership, and to maintaining harmony in congregations. These activities apparently are highly valued and perhaps ought to be. What matters, however, is the effect that emphasizing these activities has upon the fulfilment of other of the church's goals. While it would be difficult to argue that attracting new members is not a highly desirable goal, it may very well be that this task has been given so much attention as to have important negative consequences for other aspects of the church's objectives. Perhaps, for example, in directing evangelistic effort to the unchurched, the task of internal evangelism has been neglected. Or, perhaps, in order to continue to win new members, the church has had to compromise increasingly the degree of authority which it seeks to exercise over the lives of its members.

What the church holds dear and to what ends its resources are allocated are not, of course, for the minister alone to decide. He is bound by the traditions of his church and by the prevailing attitudes of his parishioners. To be sure, he is a part of these traditions and exercises an influence over these attitudes. But that his influence is limited is indicated by his own testimony that he is unable to do the things he feels he ought to be doing.

In a constantly changing society, freedom to break with tradition, to alter old ways of doing things and to innovate new ones, is almost a prerequisite to serving communities which have been disrupted by urban redevelopment or in which shifts in racial, religious, and social composition have occurred. How much freedom parishioners and the church-at-large are inclined to permit their ministers in meeting the challenge of social change is thus of more than academic importance.

Judging from several recent studies which touch on this issue, the answer for parishioners is "not very much."

In one study done by sociologist Frank Santopolo,² a sample of Roman Catholic laymen were presented with a series of drawings depicting a priest in different settings. Some were traditional settings—the priest was shown, for example, offering mass—while others were quite nontraditional—in one drawing the priest was playing ball, in another he was helping someone dig a hole. Laymen were asked to interpret what they thought the priest might be doing in each of the drawings and to express their reaction to it. Generally speaking, there was little tolerance for any but the traditional roles. It is of more than passing interest that Santopolo found the clergy considerably more tolerant of nontraditional behavior than the laity.

The same data as those used by Mr. Kloetzli in his more extended analysis show that in the twelve urban Lutheran congregations studied, parishioners placed highest value on three aspects of the ministerial role—preaching, visiting members, and visiting nonmembers. Parishioners were most concerned that their ministers not spend too much of their time on administration or working for the church-at-large. While not directly relevant to the issue of freedom, the sense of the findings is that parishioners are most pleased with their ministers when they behave in traditional ways.

That parishioners are particularly hesitant to grant their ministers authority to engage in a partisan way in social, economic, and political affairs is documented by a recent study of a national sample of Episcopalian parishioners.³ Parishioners expressed a willingness to have the clergy speak out on issues only where they were related to a traditional concern of the church, for example, prayers in schools.

The results of these studies appear to be related to the observation made earlier that the minister, to some degree, stands as a symbol of the divine. In part, this is reflected in the inclination of the parishioner to impose, implicitly at least, more rigid moral standards on the minister than on himself. It is also reflected in the apparent propensity to perceive the minister in traditional terms and to see any sharp break with tradition as a threat to the symbol. Insofar as ministers must break with tradition to cope with contemporary life, it appears that the church must do a major educational job to encourage an atmosphere in which the minister is allowed greater freedom in defining his role.

²Insofar as is known, Dr. Santopolo has not as yet published the results of his study. It was done several years ago while he was on the faculty of Fordham University.

³Ringer, Benjamin B., and Glock, Charles Y., "The Political Role of the Church as Defined by its Parishioners," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII (1954-55).

The issue would not thereby be wholly resolved, however. The minister is beholden not only to his parishioners but to a denomination whose policies and practices also influence the amount of freedom he can exercise. It is the unusual minister who has no concern for his career and for the standards of promotion set by his denomination. Where these standards are based on traditional values, he is not likely to feel encouraged to try to establish new ones, except perhaps where their impact will be quickly shown. Thinking particularly of ministers serving city churches, denominations would appear to be desperate for new ideas which would make effective the church work in the inner city. It is suspected, however, the new ideas will not be accepted if they seriously challenge tradition. A minister may see his problem as a long-range one and undertake to institute a program whose fruits may not be apparent for many years. If, in the interim, the minister fails to meet his budget or flaunts the tradition that churches are to be evaluated by the number of new members they recruit each year, his efforts are not likely to be applauded or his work encouraged.

These observations and the research undertaken so far barely begin to illuminate the ministerial role. On many important questions concerning the role and performance of the minister, there is hardly even a basis for speculation. The extent of the moral and religious authority which the minister exercises over the lives of his congregation is a case in point. In the United States alone, the clergy attempts to communicate some message to fifty million people. Although the numbers have varied, this communication process has been going for many years. Yet, the church, much less the social sciences, cannot say with authority what has been communicated with what effect and to whom.

To the questions which have been raised concerning ministerial performance could be added many more concerning their recruitment and training. It is not known systematically what selective processes operate in the recruitment of seminary students. The importance of denominational as over against nondenominational colleges in recruitment is another problem deserving of exploration. Some have noted the relatively high drop-out rate in theological schools but no one has sought in a sound empirical way to find out the causes. And there is, of course, very little knowledge available on the educational process itself.

In pointing to these gaps in current knowledge of the ministry, the intention is not to assert that it is the only profession suffering from an absence of information necessary for self-understanding. The other professions are about as equally ignorant of themselves. The difference one detects is that the latter appear to be more concerned about their ignorance and more systematic in seeing that it is remedied.

Parish Church Government

Within American Protestantism, three forms of church organization and government may be distinguished—the episcopal, the presbyterial, and the congregational. Theoretically, each of these traditional structures implies a different form of church government at the parish level, a fundamental difference being the amount of authority vested in the hands of the congregation. Formally speaking, American denominations are organized within one or another of these three basic structures. It seems evident, however, that the lines are no longer so sharply drawn as in the past and that, in its quest for autonomy, the average parish church has tended to move toward the congregational model. As between denominations, the similarities in the formal structure of church government at the parish level now outweigh the differences. While the burden of the present analysis is placed on the Lutheran model, the chances are that most of what is said will have broader applicability.

In the typical Lutheran congregation, the reins of government lie in the hands of a church council usually presided over by the minister. The council varies in size depending on a variety of factors, most often the size of the parish membership. Generally speaking, it will comprise twelve to twenty members drawn almost always from the male membership of the church. A formal distinction in council membership between elders and deacons is often made, but this distinction, though sometimes sharply drawn, is more frequently only of symbolic meaning so far as the exercise of authority is concerned. The council, under the minister's guidance, is responsible for carrying on the business of the church and in most matters has authority to act without conferring with the congregation as a whole.

Insofar as the entire congregation participates in church government, it does so at an annual meeting where work of the past year is reviewed and the succeeding year's plans, including the budget, are set forth. The organization of the annual congregational meeting is the responsibility of the council working in collaboration with the minister who usually presides. The term of office of council members varies but three-year terms are the most common and are usually rotated so that there is never a complete turnover in council membership. The procedure for nominating councilmen also varies, but as a rule the responsibility is given to a nominating committee chaired by a member of the council. The entire congregation participates in voting for councilmen, and individual members have the right to make additional nominations from the floor.

Between congregational meetings, the council ordinarily meets once

a month. In most churches, the council is augmented by a group of committees, each charged with some particular responsibility, such as the worship service, finances, education, plant maintenance, evangelism, or stewardship. Committees are most often presided over by a member of the council, and he recruits the membership usually with the assistance of the pastor. Committee reports are a basic part of the agenda at most council meetings.

The minister is the central figure in church government and, while the amount of control he exercises will vary from congregation to congregation, he is nevertheless ultimately responsible for the conduct of the affairs of the church. He generally plans the agenda for council meetings, chairs the meeting, has the right to sit in on committee meetings, and, formally or informally, has a good deal to say about who is elected to the council and appointed to committees.

Very briefly, this is the typical structure of church government. In examining this structure, the social scientist is likely to ask the following kinds of questions about it: Who constitutes the congregational leadership? How representative is the leadership of the membership of the church? Where does the power lie, and for what purposes is it being exercised? What are the implications of the way in which church government is structured and the way in which it functions for ministerial performance, for the church's program, for the church's role in the community?

The limited research attention that has been given to these questions has been focused on examining the membership composition of governing councils in order to evaluate its effect upon the program of the church. It is possible to point to only two studies in this connection, however, and one of them was done in 1928. That study,⁴ conducted by Jerome Davis, investigated the social composition of the boards of control of 387 Protestant churches representing seven denominations. Davis considered his most significant finding to be that "on the whole the membership of the boards of control is made up overwhelmingly of the favored classes." He felt this to be a consequence of the fact that the church of his day was largely a white-collar institution. It was Davis' opinion that such domination of church governing councils resulted in a basically conservative viewpoint on the church's part, a reinforcement of the status quo, and a resistance to change and innovation.

There is no evidence that Davis' study had any significant impact on the nation's churches. Since 1928 there has been no other study which

⁴"The Social Action Pattern of the Protestant Religious Leader," *American Sociological Review*, 1:105-144 (February, 1936).

has given attention to these questions. However, James Swift of the Survey Research Center, University of California (Berkeley), is currently examining the data from the twelve urban Lutheran congregations in a way roughly comparable to that adopted by Davis. His work has still to be completed but it is possible to give an interim report of some of his findings.

The procedure adopted by Swift was to investigate the degree to which different subgroups of parishioners are represented in leadership positions in the church. In this way, he has been able to provide some insight into the selective processes operating in the election and appointment of church leaders. He finds that these processes differ somewhat from congregation to congregation but that certain generalizations are warranted and are applicable to most, if not always to all, of the twelve congregations studied.

It is well known, of course, that women are more often church members than men, and this is the case in each of the twelve congregations studied. However, men are consistently more often represented in leadership positions of the church, the discrepancy being most marked in the composition of the church councils of these churches. Membership was exclusively male in all but two of the councils, and in those there was only one woman council member in each. This discrepancy has its historical roots, of course, and is reflected in the fact that women represent but a small minority in secular governments as well.

In his 1928 study, Davis had reported that the median age for members of the church boards of control was between 45 and 49. Breaking down the data on Lutheran churches for the purpose of checking this observation in as comparative a way as possible, Swift finds that the leaders of the Lutheran congregations tend to cluster in the 40 to 50 year age group. However, this is in large part a reflection of the fact that a substantial proportion of the membership as a whole comes from this group. Making comparisons on the basis of the degree to which different age groups are represented in leadership positions, Swift finds great variations from congregation to congregation and concludes that a generalization on this score is not warranted. Apparently there are idiosyncratic factors in each congregation which influence the age and composition of leadership.

Since Davis' study was completed, there has been a marked upward shift in the educational level of the general population. It is not surprising, therefore, that Swift finds the average Lutheran leader in the twelve congregations to be much more highly educated than were the leaders in the Lutheran churches in Davis sample. To be sure, the comparison is not entirely valid since there are differences in the sam-

ples of churches studied. However, it is one of more than passing interest that the leaders of these twelve churches are divided educationally as follows: 11 per cent have an elementary school education only, 40 per cent have a high school education, and 46 per cent have had some college training.⁵ Generally speaking, the leaders tend to be more highly educated than the general membership, more so, interestingly enough, in the case of women than of men leaders. While pointing to exceptions in some of the congregations studied, Swift concludes that there is a general tendency to turn to the more educated members for leadership.

That this is so is further reflected in the additional finding that the leadership of these churches is predominantly drawn from members who are in the professions or who hold managerial positions. And, when leaders are in blue collar occupations, they are likely to be skilled craftsmen rather than unskilled workers. Thus, while acknowledging that there are some congregations which do not entirely fit the pattern, Swift concludes that the general propensity which Davis noted some thirty years ago for congregations to turn to their better educated and more well-to-do members for leadership continues to hold true today, at least insofar as these twelve Lutheran churches are concerned.

These findings are unlikely to come as a surprise. It seems eminently reasonable that a minister should seek out his more talented members to take on major responsibility for guiding the destiny of the parish. Nevertheless, Davis' old question as to what this implies for the role of the church in society, for its program, and for its impact on the community is still highly relevant. Like his answer, any contemporary evaluation of the significance of church leadership patterns must continue to be speculative for still absent are the necessary data upon which to base a reliable opinion. But the issue is important enough to justify speculation if only as an incentive to further research.

It is by now reasonably well established that class differences in society are associated with different ways of looking at the world. In general, the more well-to-do a person is, the more conservative he is likely to be. Living in a world which has satisfactorily served his ends, he is understandably reluctant to see things changed. The less well-to-do person, on the other hand, when he aspires to improve his position often finds that, with things as they are, it is extremely difficult if not impossible for him to do so. He is naturally, therefore, more open to change which promises to afford him a better life. To be sure, this is a gross oversimplification of a complex set of relationships. Nevertheless, it makes the central point that some basic difference in values

⁵The remaining 3 per cent failed to report their educational status.

distinguish people at different socio-economic levels.

The church, more than most other institutions in society, is committed to serve everyone without regard to sex, age, economic position, race, or ethnic group membership. The question arises as to whether its ability to fulfill this commitment is enhanced by a situation where the commitment is not reflected in its government. It would seem that the relative exclusion of certain groups from church government can only serve to reduce the church's capacity to follow out its commitment in practice.

First of all, the church is likely to become identified with the values of those who are in control. And, if its leadership is conservative and resistant to change, the church is not likely to be able effectively to meet the problems posed by a constantly changing culture, particularly in urban places. The dilemma is well illustrated in the situation faced by many urban congregations where changes in the class composition of church neighborhoods are occurring. Such a situation demands creative innovation of a high order if the church is to survive. Yet even with the best will in the world the chances are that, because its values are different, a middle-class church council will not understand how to re-orient the church's program so that it can adapt to an increasingly lower-income neighborhood.

The hesitancy of the churches to deal effectively, if at all, with the social problems of their communities—with juvenile delinquency, crime, alcoholism, drug addiction—is perhaps made more understandable by these observations. These are social disorders which are usually associated with the more deprived groups in society. Middle-class church council members are unlikely to have come into contact with such disorders, to be particularly concerned about them, or to know how they might be dealt with effectively.

The solution is not an easy one, of course. It is not simply a matter of insuring that church councils more adequately represent all segments of the congregation. This might conceivably help but only if some way could be found to develop understanding among different social classes and groups. Here, society-at-large has itself failed to pursue the dialogue, and it seems unlikely that the church can entirely remedy the deficiency. But if the city church is to regain its vitality, it is here that there is probably most to be accomplished.

The Church Program

The church is unique among voluntary associations in its commitment to serve everyone. While many reject its appeal, the commitment nevertheless has its effect. For, truly, the church includes within its

membership a rich assortment of human kind—young and old, rich and poor, the informed and the ignorant, doctor, lawyer, beggar man, and thief. The degree of heterogeneity varies, to be sure, from parish to parish. There are parishes whose membership is largely drawn from older age groups, others where the proportion of female members is extremely high, still others which appeal predominantly to one or another social class, and many where the members are all of one race. Even in these parishes, however, similarities in one respect are likely to be counterbalanced by differences in others. Generally, the parish church, when compared with other voluntary organizations, is distinguished by its heterogeneity rather than by its homogeneity.

This heterogeneity has a profound implication for the task of organizing the church's program. In effect, it defines that task as developing a program which in one way or another will appeal to and involve many different kinds of people. Carried to an extreme, this would mean developing a complex programmatic apparatus which would take into account the entire range of interests and concerns, habits and customs, values and attitudes which are represented in the varied membership of the average church. This is clearly beyond the capacity of the smaller one-minister parish and would strain the resources of even the most well-endowed larger church. Some compromise is obligatory. In the average church, age and sex are taken to be the two most important characteristics determining members' interests and capabilities, and church programs are organized primarily around age and sex distinctions.

This decision is reflected in the church's program in many ways. At the most general level, it is exhibited in the distinction made between children and adults, Sunday school being the principal source of contact with the former and worship services and Bible classes with the latter. Beyond this, many other aspects of the church's program are organized around finer age distinctions. There is the cradle roll for the very young, junior and senior Scouts for the next age levels, the Luther League or its equivalent for the next, the young people's society for young adults, the young couple's club for the newly married, and so on up to the Golden Age society for the aged. Some of these activities are open to both boys and girls, both men and women. Many of them are not, however, and next to age, sex becomes the primary characteristic for organizing the church's program. Here, particularly at the middle and older age levels, the emphasis is given to women's activities presumably because women ordinarily have more time to devote to the church.

It is the unusual church which will organize the bulk of its activities

around other than age and sex differences. There are some that recognize the need for programs that take account of differences in parishioners' level of sophistication and educational background. There are others which take cognizance of differences in recreational interests despite similarities in age and sex. In making assignments to church committees, differences in personality, in interests, in background and ability are likely to be taken into account. And, in the counseling activity carried on by the minister, some provision is made for meeting the idiosyncratic needs of individual members of the church. By and large, however, age and sex loom largest in their influence on the organization of the formal program of the church.

That this is so is not surprising. Age and sex are indicators of basic differences in capabilities, in interests, and in attitudes, and it would be difficult as well as foolish to ignore them in the development of parish programs. Their importance is reflected in the structure and program of many secular organizations as well—in schools, lodges, welfare groups, youth organizations, and so on. The crucial difference, however, is in the degree of their influence over programs. In most secular organizations age and sex tend, paradoxically, to have less influence precisely because these organizations are open to or attract members of like age and of one sex. As a consequence they are in a better position to consider other factors over and above age and sex in the development of their programs. Because its membership is so heterogeneous, the church is in no position to ignore the importance of age and sex in the construction of its program. But it cannot easily take account of other differences because its resources are so limited, particularly in the one-minister parish.

There is no intention here to suggest a resolution to this dilemma. It is altogether possible that there is no solution. It is nevertheless important to be aware of the many possible implications of parishioner heterogeneity, especially in the pursuit of the church's educational aims. Here, more than in other areas, differences in the abilities, interests, and values of individuals make it almost obligatory that educational programs not be cut from the same cloth. What constitutes effective education for the plodder may alienate the gifted. Conversely, education aimed at the gifted will not be communicated to the less talented. This is a basic problem faced by educational institutions generally. Ordinarily, however, the school, the college, or the university are able to make some provision for adjusting the level of education to the level of the pupil. This is much more difficult to accomplish in the church. Most Sunday schools are not large enough to organize classes into sections. It is not feasible to present different sermons to

different parish groups. Nor is it usually possible to have a varied enough adult education program to meet the interests and needs of all. To be sure, there is no evidence that parishioners are particularly motivated by educational considerations to join the church. However, the church has an educational objective and, if it is not realized, its overall program suffers even if it still manages to retain its membership.

A further consequence of parishioner heterogeneity may be to inhibit creative innovation in programing except where it may have a mass appeal. A minister may feel it highly desirable, for example, to form a group to discuss and develop the church's resources for dealing with community problems. If only a small number of members exhibit an interest in such a group, the minister is hard pressed to justify devoting his time to it rather than to programs having a broader appeal. Under pressure, he is likely to forego the experimental program in favor of one which generates more widespread interest. Where resources are limited, the temptation is to program something which will have the broadest appeal. That this is the most satisfactory criterion for programing is an open question.

Judged by a number of criteria—having a religiously literate and committed membership, dealing effectively with social problems, having a significant impact on the community, exercising authority over the basic values of the society—the church can scarcely be said to be meeting its potential. In part, the gap is undoubtedly a consequence of the way in which the church's program is (and perhaps must be) organized. Certainly the church's commitment to a heterogeneous membership cannot be abandoned, but it might be pursued in ways less destructive to the church's programmatic activity.

The Parishioner and His Church

In the final analysis, the nature, the significance, and perhaps even the destiny of the church is determined by the kind and degree of commitment which it expects and receives from its parishioners. Judging from the current practices of churches, there are four ways in which the parishioner is expected to manifest commitment.

One dimension of commitment has to do with religious practice, with such things as attending worship services, participating in the sacraments, studying Scripture, and reciting prayers. A second dimension is constituted by religious belief and includes all of those ideas which represent what is believed about the nature of God and his purpose. A less evident dimension of commitment, at least in present-day Protestantism, bears on religious experience, on the parishioner's religious feelings as contrasted to his intellectual beliefs and his overt,

ritualistic practices. These three dimensions have in common a concern with man's relation to God. There is a fourth dimension which has to do with man's relation to man. It deals with what people do and with what attitudes they hold as a consequence of their religious practices, beliefs, and experiences. In theological terms, this dimension would be represented by the notion of "works," in philosophy by the concept of ethics.

Presumably, churchmen as well as parishioners are in agreement that these are all relevant dimensions of commitment. The truly committed parishioner would be expected to evince his commitment in all of them. What is not so clear is precisely what the church expects from its parishioners in each of these dimensions. Most agreement would probably be secured in the realm of religious practice. Regular church attendance would be universally more highly valued than irregular attendance; praying every day would be more highly approved than doing so less frequently or not at all. But, even in this area, disagreement may arise as, for example, in the continuing discussion of "high church" versus "low church" practices.

On the belief dimension the importance of religious belief as a manifestation of commitment is not likely to be questioned. Disagreement does arise, however, in defining what beliefs the committed parishioner ought to hold. Not only do denominations differ in this regard; there is also great variation within denominations between and among both clergy and laity.

In the realm of religious experience there seems to be disagreement as to both the importance of this dimension and the kinds of religious experience necessary to manifest commitment. Thus, for example, some religious groups place high value on the expression of religious emotion while others are embarrassed by any display of religious feeling.

Finally, while there is a general expectation that commitment in practice, belief, and experience ought to have consequences for other aspects of behavior, precisely what these should be is very much open to debate. Whether, for example, the committed Christian has a responsibility to live up to certain traditional moral codes such as were exemplified in the "blue laws" continues to be an abiding question.

The lack of agreement about what is or should be expected of the committed parishioner in each of these dimensions is paralleled by considerable disagreement concerning the emphasis to be accorded to each. Within Lutheranism, the theological emphasis on "salvation by faith" has tended to lead to a de-emphasis on "works," irrespective of what Luther actually intended in this regard. The debate between those who would have the church "stick to religion and stay out of

politics" and those who take the view that "everything in the sight of God is a responsibility of the church" is another indication of the relative lack of accord.

It is recognized that these observations highlight the disagreements and overlook the existence of and the necessity for some degree of consensus if the church is to exist at all. Certainly, at the parish level, these differences will not all be in evidence. Nevertheless, even at this level, incipient disagreement may be great enough to limit seriously the kind and amount of authority which the church seeks to have and is capable of exercising in both the lives of its parishioners and the life of the community-at-large. Standards which are not explicit and not uniformly expressed are not likely to be convincing or to provide effective guides for behavior.

Irrespective of the variations in expectations, parishioners do differ in the kind and strength of their commitment to the church. No minister would argue otherwise. This raises a number of empirical questions about the parishioner's ties to his church which also have their implications for defining the church's nature. How do parishioners, in fact, differ in their commitment? What accounts for the difference? Why, for example, are some parishioners more ritually observant than others? And what difference does the kind and the strength of the parishioner's commitment make for other aspects of his behavior—for his life goals, for his relationships with others, for his morality, for his mental health, for his perceptions of the social world? While these questions have still to be given systematic attention, some preliminary speculative answers are beginning to come from a number of studies now in process. The studies necessarily involve some arbitrariness in the definition of commitment, and the reader will undoubtedly have his own opinion as to how satisfactory these definitions are.

Two studies—one is based on the twelve urban Congregational churches, the other examines the religious beliefs and practices of freshman students at Antioch, Swarthmore, Reed, and San Francisco State College—have given some attention to studying the relationship between religious belief and ritual observance.⁶ In the Congregational study, parishioners have been classified on a continuum ranging between what the investigator calls traditional and modern belief. Traditional belief is represented by, for example, acceptance of the Bible as the literal word of God, modern belief by the view that the Bible

⁶The Congregational study is being conducted by Phillip Hammond of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University. The student study is being pursued by Roderic Frederickson of the Survey Research Center, University of California, using data collected by the University's Center for the Study of Higher Education.

must be interpreted in the light of history. In the college study, the freshmen have been categorized in a similar way except that the continuum includes traditional belief, modern belief, agnosticism, and atheism. Both investigators are finding that the more traditional the religious belief, the more regularly do subjects participate in the ritual life of the church. This is not to say that all of those who hold modern belief are ritually less observant than those adhering to traditional beliefs but only that there is a tendency in this direction. Nevertheless, should the relationship be found to hold in studies done on broader populations of church members, liberal churchmen would be confronted with the problem of resolving the dilemma thereby posed—that is, how to present a modern interpretation of Scripture without negatively affecting participation in ritual observances.

The author of this paper and Benjamin Ringer are presently engaged in a study of differential "involvement" in the church based on data collected from a national sample of the membership of the Protestant Episcopal Church.⁷ The study does not include information on the religious beliefs of Episcopalians. It does, however, provide data on their ritual observance as measured by attendance at worship services and participation in the sacrament of Holy Communion, their participation in the organizational life of the church as represented by the proportion of their total organizational life devoted to church groups, and their "intellectual" interest in religious matters as represented by the extent of their reading of religious periodicals and Scripture. There is a relatively high degree of association among these three different indicators of "involvement," i.e., the more ritually observant Episcopalians are, the more active they are in the organizational life of the church and the more attention they give to religious literature.

Comparable examination of the data collected in the study of twelve urban Lutheran congregations tends to confirm the Episcopal findings.⁸

Conclusions

In this study, the more ritually observant Lutheran parishioners are also more likely to be members of church organizations, to be knowledgeable about the Bible and the affairs of the church, and to make their friendships with other members of the congregation. What both of these studies suggest is that high involvement in one aspect of the church's activities tends to generate high involvement in all of its activities. It is to be recognized that these two studies are dealing pri-

⁷The results of this study will be reported in a monograph to be published, probably in 1961, by The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.

⁸This particular analysis of the Lutheran data is being pursued by the writer and Jay Demerath of the Survey Research Center, University of California, Berkeley.

marily with indicators of religious practice and do not touch on religious belief or experience. However, as indicated above, there is other evidence to suggest an association between religious practice and belief.

Should subsequent work on other church groups confirm the fact that involvement in one aspect of the church's program tends to be associated with involvement in others, it would appear that if the church values multiple participation it cannot count heavily on appealing to some through one aspect of its program and to others through other activities. Instead it must provide a range of activities which will involve parishioners in a number of ways. This complicates even further the programmatic problems of the church discussed in the previous section.

The fact of this high relationship between different indicators of involvement made it possible in both the Lutheran and Episcopal studies to combine them into a single composite index of involvement. In the Episcopal case, this was done by combining indicators of ritual observance, organizational participation, and intellectual interest. In the Lutheran case, it was done by combining indicators of ritual observance, organizational membership, biblical literacy, congregational literacy, and dependence on the congregation for social relationships. The resultant indices are not strictly comparable but, as will be seen, they were comparable enough to warrant pursuing similar analyses.

Since there were different degrees of involvement on the respective indices among both the Episcopal and the Lutheran parishioners, it becomes relevant to ask how the more involved parishioners differ from the less involved and what accounts for the differences. Both studies cast some light on these questions.

To begin with, the studies show a greater involvement for female than for male parishioners at every age level from twenty years up. Not only is the church more successful in attracting women than men to membership but among present members it is more successful in involving women in its activities. This is perhaps not too surprising since it is to be expected that women have more time to devote to the church. However, the difference holds even when the comparison is made simply on the basis of attendance at worship service.

Involvement also varies greatly with different periods of the life cycle. Before they are married, both men and women exhibit a relatively high involvement, which declines with marriage and decreases even further when the first child is born. As children grow older, there is a resurgence of interest in the church—however, it is now greater for women than for men. As they get still older, women tend to become even more involved, reaching the highest point in the later years of

life. Men also show a slight increase as they get older but the difference between men and women gets greater rather than less. The fact that older parishioners exhibit higher involvement than younger ones may possibly contribute to what many have observed as the conservatism of the contemporary church. Older people are generally more set in their ways and feel less comfortable about change. And if they are more involved in the church, presumably they have a greater influence on its affairs.

It is possible, using the Episcopal but not the Lutheran data, to consider the bearing of marital and family status on involvement. Among both male and female Episcopalians thirty years of age and older, those with both a spouse and children are consistently less involved than those with neither or with one but not the other. Those who are both spouseless and childless are the most highly involved. This finding contrasts sharply with the general propensity of the church to picture its members in the image of the nuclear family. That its membership includes persons without complete family ties is seldom recognized in sermons, church literature, church programs. Whether this has had the effect of alienating some without or with only partial family ties is not known. It would certainly seem to be the case where partial ties or the absence of ties is a result of divorce. But where the church does succeed in winning those with incomplete families to membership, they tend, it would appear, to be among its more loyal members.

An examination of the relationship between involvement and the parishioner's social class is being pursued with both the Episcopal and Lutheran data. While the analysis has still to be completed, social status appears to be less strongly related to involvement than sex, age, or family ties. Insofar as any generalization is warranted, parishioners having upper-class status tend to be the least involved. The differences between those classified as middle and lower class are neither significant nor highly consistent when differences in age and sex are taken into account. As was mentioned earlier, the church tends to draw on its more well-to-do members for positions of leadership. There is, then, the possibility that positions of leadership in some parish churches go to those who are least religiously involved.

This is as far as the analysis of the concomitants of involvement has been pursued. The results, thus far, would appear to be useful in affording some limited descriptive information on what kinds of people are more likely to be involved in the church. The problem of explaining differential involvement, however, is left largely untouched. The one clue which may contribute to an explanation is suggested by the fact that those characteristics associated with low involvement are all more

highly valued by the society-at-large than the characteristics associated with high involvement. Society affords greater opportunities to the male than to the female. It values youth more highly than old age. Like the church itself, it places a high regard on the family. Those without complete family ties are, to some extent at least, deviants. And that society highly esteems wealth requires no documentation. The extremes of the discrepancy are best visualized by seeing the wealthy young man with a family at one end and the poor elderly widow at the other. Clearly, all of the rewards and gratifications which society has to offer are readily accessible to the former while they are almost wholly withheld from the latter.

What these observations suggest is that a strong factor influencing deep involvement in the church may be a feeling of being rejected by general society. Where it rejects, the church is there to offer a helping hand. Thus, involvement in the church affords a source of gratification for those who cannot find it in society-at-large.

The speculative character of these observations must, of course, be recognized. Insofar as they may be true, they point to a central and important function which the church may be serving in society. At the same time, they pose additional dilemmas for the church. The church's mission, though it includes serving those who feel rejected by the world, is not identical with this service. What is at issue, however, is whether the church can have a significant influence on society if its strength lies in its appeal to those who feel some sense of estrangement from that society.

It is important, obviously, that these speculations be tested with a high degree of scientific rigor before they are acted upon. In whatever testing may be done, some attention must necessarily be given to elaborating the concept of rejection beyond what has been attempted here. One of the issues to be considered concerns the question of whether turning to the church represents an attempt to escape from the world or a way to deal rationally with it. Both possibilities exist. Some credence is given to the latter possibility as the more salient one by an additional finding of the Episcopal study.

In this study parishioners were distinguished by whether they preferred having the church remain aloof from the affairs of the world or whether they preferred it to play an active role in public affairs. It was hypothesized that if high involvement represents a desire to escape from the world then the more highly involved parishioners would tend to want the church to remain aloof from social, economic, and political affairs. If the involved parishioner was attempting to escape from the world, presumably he would want the church to escape with him. The

results do not confirm this possibility. Rather, they indicate that the more highly involved feel about the same as the less highly involved on the issue of church participation in public life. The absence of a relationship lends some support to the notion that involvement, rather than representing an escape from the world, represents a means to live comfortably within it. This, too, however, must be viewed as a speculation to be tested through further research.

There remains the question of what the consequences of differential involvement may be for other aspects of the parishioner's behavior and attitudes. The studies under discussion may eventually have some tentative answers to this question. However, as of the writing of this report, work has not proceeded to the point where even a tentative statement of conclusions is warranted. Clearly, however, this is a matter of some importance to understanding the nature of commitment and one on which the social sciences may have a contribution to make.

The course that has been followed has pointed to a number of dilemmas of the contemporary church: the dilemma of reconciling the religious and secular functions of the ministerial role; the dilemma of recruiting talented congregational leadership while still representing the membership in church government; the dilemma of organizing, with limited resources, an effective parish program in the face of parishioner heterogeneity; the dilemma of developing consensus on commitment in an atmosphere of incipient disagreement.

Underlying and implicit in all of these is the more fundamental dilemma of defining the church's task in contemporary society. It is here, of course, that the church is confronted in the broadest sense with the complexities of modern culture. In that confrontation, traditional answers stated in abstract terms are not likely to suffice. The church has still to say explicitly what its objectives are and what values it is dedicated to in ways that are meaningful not only in principle but in practice in today's world.

The chances are that this task is beyond complete accomplishment. Yet, if the church is to survive as a vital institution in society, the effort must be made. The social sciences cannot be expected to take part in this effort in any direct way. What they have learned and are capable of learning about religion's place in society will nevertheless be relevant.

APPENDIX

MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

APPENDIX

MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

Census of Church Membership

The city churches of today are facing many changes. In an effort to help improve church work in the city, the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. is sponsoring a study of city churches throughout the nation. Your denomination as well as many others is cooperating in this effort.

Your congregation has been selected as one of the churches to be studied. You along with other members of your congregation are being asked to fill out this questionnaire. As you will see, the questionnaire asks your opinion about the work of your congregation, inquires into your knowledge about the community in which your church is located, and asks some questions about you and your relation to your church. We think that you will enjoy filling out the questionnaire and we ask you to do it as completely and as promptly as you can. A stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience. We hope that you will think of this as a form of Christian service. *Our sincere thanks for your help.*

Please place an x in the proper space. Incidentally, the numbers next to each set of answers are to help in counting answers. Please ignore them when filling out the questionnaire.

To begin, here are a few questions about how you came to be a member of this congregation and about your present activity as a member. Most of these questions require no more than a check answer.

	CHURCHES*							
	1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
Total number of questionnaires received	338	223	247	140	328	71	297	150
<i>Questions</i>								
1. Was your first contact with this congregation by invitation?								
5-1 Yes	133	99	145	93	165	28	123	59
5-2 No	192	104	90	47	148	40	162	83
5-3 Don't remember	6	14	7	—	13	1	7	7
IF YES: Who invited you?								
5-5 The pastor	31	33	38	53	25	5	31	7
5-6 Member of the congregation whom I knew	61	33	64	25	74	14	52	21
5-7 Member of the congregation whom I didn't know ..	5	10	7	4	14	3	5	8
5-8 Other (Please write in)	26	16	28	8	41	4	30	20
2. What was the first church activity that you attended?								
6-1 The Sunday School	98	119	75	26	97	29	60	36
6-2 A worship service	224	96	156	101	208	36	226	99

*Churches are coded by number, 1=Reformation; 3=Zion; 5=Bethlehem; 6=Trinity; 7=Our Saviour's; 9=St. Mark's; 10=St. John's; 12=Immanuel.

CHURCHES*								
	1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
6-3 An organizational meeting	10	6	6	12	19	2	8	9
6-4 Some other church function	5	1	7	5	13	3	11	10
3. Did you visit other churches before you decided to join this congregation?								
6-6 Yes	102	80	151	72	127	29	129	79
6-7 No	226	138	89	68	191	38	161	70
4. Were you a member of this denomination before you joined this congregation?								
6-9 Yes	266	143	109	95	231	55	198	115
6-0 No	61	50	121	39	79	11	89	29
7- IF NO: What was your former denomination(s)? (Please write in)								
5. Have you been baptized?								
8-1 Yes	336	218	245	136	328	71	294	148
8-2 No	2	4	2	3	—	—	1	1
IF YES: Were you baptized in this congregation?								
8-3 Yes	82	88	83	6	73	13	35	29
8-4 No	243	128	159	126	246	58	249	117
6. Have you been confirmed?								
8-5 Yes	334	210	225	123	320	71	258	139
8-6 No	2	12	9	15	4	—	36	10
IF YES: Were you confirmed in this congregation?								
8-7 Yes	156	124	152	49	149	28	63	35
8-8 No	171	86	68	76	165	40	198	103
7. Are you a communicant member of this congregation?								
8-9 Yes	330	206	229	109	299	59	288	127
8-0 No	2	10	4	21	12	7	4	14
8. How long have you been a member of this congregation?								
9-1 Less than 1 year	23	9	25	35	10	1	35	19
9-2 One to two years	31	21	53	35	35	10	29	31
9-3 Three to five years	67	23	57	52	46	8	40	18
9-4 Six to ten years	39	9	15	—	41	11	50	18
9-5 More than ten years	172	155	94	1	192	37	140	60
9-6 Not an official member	2	4	—	13	3	5	2	2
9. How often do you attend the Sunday worship services? (Check the answer which comes closest to describing what you do)								
10-1 At least 3 times a month ..	220	116	161	107	177	44	185	75
10-2 At least twice a month	63	38	45	16	73	7	45	16
10-3 About once a month	34	30	20	5	32	6	26	20

*Churches are coded by number. 1=Reformation; 3=Zion; 5=Bethlehem; 6=Trinity; 7=Our Saviour's; 9=St. Mark's; 10=St. John's; 12=Immanuel.

		CHURCHES*							
		1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
	10-4 About once every three months	13	18	10	5	19	4	19	9
	10-5 About once or twice a year	5	8	2	3	7	5	8	13
	10-6 Less than once a year	3	6	3	3	11	5	4	7
10.	How often have you taken communion during the last year?								
	10-7 Five times or more	197	145	172	67	197	41	133	80
	10-8 Three or four times	84	37	32	20	61	11	127	25
	10-9 Once or twice	48	29	27	20	42	12	31	29
	10-0 Not at all	7	10	11	29	25	7	2	14
11.	During the Sunday worship service, do you find that you pay close attention to everything that is going on, or does your mind wander to thoughts of other things?								
	11-1 Pay very close attention ..	120	109	123	52	164	38	155	63
	11-2 Pay fairly close attention	192	101	114	80	149	26	128	67
	11-3 Mind wanders	23	10	9	7	8	5	9	12
	11-4 Don't know	1	—	1	—	1	1	1	2
12.	How often, if at all, do you attend Sunday School?								
	11-5 At least three times a month	37	13	26	32	30	9	60	10
	11-6 At least twice a month	4	1	2	2	2	—	7	2
	11-7 About once a month	2	1	—	2	1	—	9	2
	11-8 About once every three months	4	1	3	1	—	1	3	1
	11-9 About once or twice a year	7	2	7	2	3	2	8	1
	11-0 Less than once a year	4	3	4	3	2	—	6	1
	11-X Not at all	242	177	190	82	246	46	197	101
13.	How many of the organizations of your congregation do you belong to?								
	12-1 None	167	96	84	70	168	31	122	71
	12-2 One	114	87	90	34	80	15	99	47
	12-3 Two	41	21	46	20	56	16	37	18
	12-4 Three	11	11	19	8	14	6	24	9
	12-5 Four or more	3	4	3	5	6	3	10	2
14.	Are you now a member or officer of any of the following? (Please check yes or no for each.)								
	13-1 Member of the church council yes	26	17	14	11	9	16	10	13
	13-2 no	233	146	161	84	204	37	221	98
	13-3 Member of a church committee yes	28	18	37	24	28	9	38	29
	13-4 no	223	145	141	80	190	33	200	83
	13-5 Member of the choir yes	28	10	23	16	27	10	14	3
	13-6 no	215	146	150	73	183	35	206	99

		CHURCHES*								
		1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12	
13-7	Officer of a church organization	yes	23	24	34	13	36	14	30	16
13-8	no	225	141	148	83	186	35	210	95	
13-9	Officer of the Sunday School	yes	5	5	10	4	7	4	6	4
13-0	no	229	149	161	85	196	39	217	103	
13-X	Sunday School teacher	yes	38	10	26	19	19	5	10	5
13-Y	no	228	154	158	86	199	40	220	101	
15. Do you contribute regularly to: (Please check yes or no for each.)										
15-1	The current expenses of the church	yes	311	198	223	127	290	60	285	129
15-2	no	22	20	17	9	27	9	8	17	
15-3	The missionary budget of the church	yes	217	111	190	81	197	47	230	91
15-4	no	43	43	25	25	57	11	27	26	
15-5	The building fund (if any)	yes	253	119	87	17	104	19	122	18
15-6	no	29	42	41	47	97	18	68	45	
15-7	An organization of the congregation	yes	123	72	130	23	112	29	145	48
15-8	no	87	64	54	49	93	20	70	46	

Here are a few information questions about your congregation. The idea of these questions is to find out what people know and don't know about their congregations. We expect that many people won't be able to answer them so please don't feel hesitant to check "don't know" where you can't answer a question.

16.	How old is your congregation?									
16-1	Less than 5 years old	114	1	1	124	2	—	—	—	
16-2	Five to ten years old	9	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	
16-3	Eleven to fifteen years old	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	
16-4	Sixteen to twenty-five years old	2	—	2	1	2	—	—	—	
16-5	Twenty-six to fifty years old	27	14	16	—	24	2	9	7	
16-6	More than fifty years old ..	81	178	165	—	202	65	237	104	
16-7	Don't know	98	29	57	12	93	2	46	37	
17.	What is the total confirmed membership of your congregation?									
17-1	Less than 100	—	—	2	1	1	2	1	1	
17-2	101-200	—	—	—	46	4	7	—	1	
17-3	201-300	—	—	2	28	3	11	2	1	
17-4	301-400	4	11	12	12	8	6	3	15	
17-5	401-500	9	14	28	—	16	1	9	4	
17-6	501 or more	214	93	130	1	170	4	196	50	
17-7	Don't know	103	101	69	50	116	35	83	78	

*Churches are coded by number. 1=Reformation; 3=Zion; 5=Bethlehem; 6=Trinity; 7=Our Saviour's; 9=St. Mark's; 10=St. John's; 12=Immanuel.

		CHURCHES*							
		1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
18.	Some church members know a lot about the work and program of their congregations. Others are not so well informed. How would you rate your own knowledge about the work and program of your congregation?								
18-1	I feel I know a <i>lot</i> about my congregation	32	31	42	20	37	16	38	22
18-2	I feel I know a <i>fair amount</i> about my congregation	189	116	142	68	166	34	150	70
18-3	I really know <i>very little</i> about my congregation	112	65	48	50	111	18	97	56
19.	What has happened to the membership of your congregation during the last five years?								
18-4	It's been growing	316	36	136	122	232	23	252	120
18-5	Just about holding its own ..	5	56	66	9	45	26	24	13
18-6	It's been losing members ..	1	99	9	2	4	8	1	1
18-7	Don't know	15	30	36	7	45	14	19	16
IF THERE HAS BEEN A GAIN: What is the reason for this? (Check as many as apply)									
19-1	Good church program	196	23	92	60	148	9	187	78
19-2	Good pastoral leadership ..	212	45	131	94	170	12	224	110
19-3	Newcomers to neighborhood attracted to church ..	170	29	109	45	60	17	32	46
19-4	Gain in population in neighborhood	133	8	43	6	10	12	3	17
19-5	Change in racial makeup of neighborhood	1	49	123	2	19	1	1	2
19-6	Change in religious makeup of neighborhood ..	7	5	18	10	8	4	2	5
19-7	Other (Specify)	50	—	1	6	8	1	8	9
IF THERE HAS BEEN A LOSS: What is the reason for this? (Check those that apply)									
20-1	Poor church program	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	—
20-2	Poor pastoral leadership ..	1	1	—	5	4	5	—	—
20-3	Newcomers to neighborhood not interested in church	—	10	1	5	3	4	1	5
20-4	Loss of population in neighborhood	—	9	1	1	23	—	1	5
20-5	Change in racial makeup of neighborhood	—	124	35	—	2	2	—	1
20-6	Change in religious makeup of neighborhood	—	4	3	1	2	3	—	2
20-7	Old members have moved away	4	86	25	10	18	10	11	11
20-8	Other (Specify)	6	2	—	1	3	1	1	2

		CHURCHES*							
		1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
20.	How are most of the new members brought into the church? (Check as many as apply)								
21-1	By the personal effort of the pastor	156	136	155	92	93	21	160	73
21-2	By the efforts of the members of the congregation ..	176	49	126	88	180	36	181	81
21-3	Through special evangelistic program	44	77	71	60	99	5	91	71
21-4	Through the church school	104	79	91	22	48	3	19	6
21-5	Other (Specify)	7	3	7	2	12	1	13	7
21-6	Don't really know	110	47	41	21	65	21	66	31

The questions which follow deal with the pastor of your congregation. Please be frank in your answers remembering that what you have to say will not be used to judge the work of your own minister but to analyze the problems facing city ministers generally. Please, however, keep your own pastor in mind as you answer.

21.	As far as you know, what two kinds of work does your pastor spend most of his time on? What two kinds of work does he spend the least amount of time on? (Check two answers in the <i>most</i> column and two in the <i>least</i> column)								
<i>Most:</i>									
22-1	Preparing sermons	142	66	65	66	139	41	142	55
22-2	Visiting members	35	29	27	24	24	32	20	16
22-3	Visiting nonmembers	11	48	33	35	7	6	7	7
22-4	Attending church meetings	125	43	77	25	124	11	88	34
22-5	Office work	78	32	29	27	50	—	38	9
22-6	Work for the church at large (Denominational meetings, etc.)	129	65	121	46	132	6	91	47
22-7	Giving people advice	19	9	31	27	33	8	57	23
22-8	His own recreation	2	—	1	—	4	—	2	—
22-9	Other (Specify)	4	7	6	1	5	6	4	2
22-0	Don't know	85	75	71	31	83	18	92	51
<i>Least:</i>									
23-1	Preparing sermons	1	15	11	3	8	2	4	3
23-2	Visiting members	138	45	44	32	122	7	110	19
23-3	Visiting nonmembers	90	8	24	13	106	10	67	23
23-4	Attending church meetings	2	5	5	9	4	13	5	6
23-5	Office work	24	23	43	11	30	16	31	27
23-6	Work for the church at large (Denominational meetings, etc.)	4	2	3	9	8	19	12	5
23-7	Giving people advice	58	30	30	13	35	7	13	7
23-8	His own recreation	71	30	70	52	55	11	57	43
23-9	Other (Specify)	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
23-0	Don't know	85	68	66	36	61	16	87	46

*Churches are coded by number. 1=Reformation; 3=Zion; 5=Bethlehem; 6=Trinity; 7=Our Saviour's; 9=St. Mark's; 10=St. John's; 12=Immanuel.

		CHURCHES*							
		1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
22.	Do you think your minister should be active in community affairs?								
24-1	Yes	251	188	214	101	216	47	220	104
24-2	No	35	1	4	7	34	6	29	10
24-3	Don't know	47	25	21	29	68	13	40	29
23.	Is your minister active in community affairs?								
24-4	Yes	130	156	208	64	93	12	106	58
24-5	No	55	—	—	7	38	24	14	2
24-6	Don't know	148	60	31	66	188	33	164	84
24.	For each of the following list of activities, check whether you think your minister spends too much, too little time or about the right amount of time on each. If you feel you can't answer, check "don't know."								
25-1	<i>Preparing sermons</i> —too much time	7	1	2	5	—	3	3	4
25-2	Too little time	3	9	9	2	4	2	2	1
25-3	About right	160	76	117	72	149	36	137	58
25-4	Don't know	126	96	94	43	119	20	117	62
25-5	<i>Visiting members</i> —too much time	2	2	2	2	1	—	1	—
25-6	Too little time	135	35	35	18	118	15	90	19
25-7	About right	49	41	88	52	37	24	51	26
25-8	Don't know	109	90	94	47	110	20	108	72
26-1	<i>Visiting nonmembers</i> —too much time	1	8	3	5	—	—	3	—
26-2	Too little time	76	9	6	7	76	19	35	5
26-3	About right	43	45	72	49	28	10	35	23
26-4	Don't know	158	102	124	52	144	27	159	84
26-5	<i>Attending church meetings</i> —too much time	23	3	8	9	27	1	19	7
26-6	Too little time	—	2	1	6	2	15	4	1
26-7	About right	172	82	125	56	134	17	112	49
26-8	Don't know	91	80	78	42	83	23	104	59
27-1	<i>Office work</i> —too much time	29	12	9	27	30	—	16	1
27-2	Too little time	1	3	3	1	4	12	1	1
27-3	About right	105	46	90	35	83	8	67	36
27-4	Don't know	132	101	97	42	116	32	138	75
27-5	<i>Work for the church at large</i> (denominational meetings, etc.)								
	Too much time	15	8	21	8	48	—	18	10
27-6	Too little time	1	1	—	2	1	18	3	—
27-7	About right	154	67	111	59	109	8	87	40
27-8	Don't know	110	91	82	46	90	28	129	61
28-1	<i>Giving people advice</i> —too much time	8	2	2	8	4	2	14	7
28-2	Too little time	26	12	13	4	20	12	6	5
28-3	About right	64	38	85	54	77	11	70	39
28-4	Don't know	183	107	111	45	140	28	148	64

		CHURCHES*							
		1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
28-5	<i>His own recreation—too much time</i>	1	—	2	1	4	3	4	1
28-6	<i>Too little time</i>	44	15	46	38	37	14	29	33
28-7	<i>About right</i>	51	22	41	15	36	3	29	5
28-8	<i>Don't know</i>	189	127	125	57	170	35	170	75
25.	How strict is your minister in insisting on the religious teachings of your church?								
29-1	<i>Very strict</i>	109	94	78	88	165	4	97	60
29-2	<i>Fairly strict</i>	142	80	105	38	94	14	101	42
29-3	<i>Not so strict</i>	21	5	11	—	6	30	15	4
29-4	<i>Don't know</i>	60	32	45	13	57	19	72	42
26.	How well known is your minister in the neighborhood around the church?								
30-1	<i>Well known</i>	179	130	228	65	66	13	133	23
30-2	<i>Fairly well known</i>	86	48	9	42	81	14	65	34
30-3	<i>Not well known</i>	3	—	—	2	21	15	9	7
30-4	<i>Don't know</i>	69	40	9	28	154	28	81	83
27.	How would you rate the job that your pastor is doing from an all around point of view?								
30-5	<i>Very successful</i>	221	111	225	80	177	19	230	110
30-6	<i>Fairly successful</i>	105	82	18	49	120	29	60	30
30-7	<i>Not too successful</i>	8	8	1	5	15	18	1	4
28.	How well do you like the sermons your pastor preaches?								
31-1	<i>Very well</i>	244	128	184	101	252	48	252	99
31-2	<i>Fairly well</i>	80	72	49	35	64	15	37	32
31-3	<i>Not very well</i>	13	9	10	2	8	5	4	6
31-4	<i>Don't know</i>	1	6	3	1	2	2	2	9
We should now like to get to know your impressions and opinions on such things as the membership of your congregation, the way that your congregation is governed and what its program includes. As before, most of the questions require no more than a check answer.									
29.	How would you describe the present membership of your congregation?								
32-1	<i>Upper class</i>	12	3	12	—	16	1	25	8
32-2	<i>Middle class</i>	111	56	128	9	147	31	162	104
32-3	<i>Working class</i>	176	133	70	115	100	32	36	13
32-4	<i>Lower class</i>	1	7	—	4	5	1	—	—
32-5	<i>No particular class</i>	41	9	13	4	43	8	59	17
32-6	<i>Don't know</i>	23	24	25	7	29	4	22	19
30.	Are the people who have joined your congregation in the last few years of a higher or lower economic class than the older members?								

*Churches are coded by number. 1=Reformation; 3=Zion; 5=Bethlehem; 6=Trinity; 7=Our Saviour's; 9=St. Mark's; 10=St. John's; 12=Immanuel.

	CHURCHES*							
	1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
32-7 New members have higher incomes	55	1	20	3	14	24	9	13
32-8 New members have lower incomes	3	124	39	10	77	2	36	6
32-9 No difference	143	15	69	64	69	16	82	35
32-0 Don't know	133	80	111	60	163	28	162	93
31. How many members of the congregation approximately do you know by name?								
33-1 Five or less	12	27	15	17	31	8	24	38
33-2 Six to ten	19	13	16	29	21	8	31	21
33-3 Eleven to twenty-five	56	52	56	41	61	9	73	23
33-4 Twenty-six to fifty	70	53	71	30	81	26	67	30
33-5 Over 50	179	75	82	18	129	20	97	36
32. Of your five closest friends, how many are members of the congregation?								
34-1 None	112	85	99	43	127	26	143	81
34-2 One	29	14	25	16	30	6	34	17
34-3 Two	67	23	35	25	30	10	30	18
34-4 Three	27	16	28	20	31	8	22	7
34-5 Four	31	11	11	6	24	3	13	4
34-6 Five	68	66	40	26	69	16	47	18
33. Do you feel that <i>you</i> have a voice in shaping the policy and program of your congregation?								
35-1 Yes	168	71	126	50	125	30	123	48
35-2 No	84	70	49	32	95	18	89	52
35-3 Not sure	83	73	57	52	91	22	75	41
34. Would you say that decisions about how the congregation should be run are arrived at democratically?								
35-4 Yes	228	92	169	82	155	41	171	84
35-5 No	23	18	10	1	15	3	25	9
35-6 Couldn't say	86	107	59	55	144	24	93	54
35. In conducting the business of the congregation, how well do the members get along together?								
36-1 Very well	88	72	129	55	94	30	93	39
36-2 Fairly well	155	79	45	52	124	25	99	45
36-3 Rather poorly	5	3	2	4	6	2	2	5
36-4 Don't know	90	68	65	26	96	14	96	60
36. To whom would you go to suggest changes in the program of your congregation?								
36-5 The pastor	117	123	149	82	142	26	170	74
36-6 Officer of the church	109	30	38	29	95	36	67	32
36-7 Officer of church organization	47	18	26	17	31	4	28	19
36-8 Other (Specify)	9	1	4	2	1	—	3	6
36-9 Don't know	71	52	33	19	57	6	33	26

		CHURCHES*							
		1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
37.	Over the last five years, who has had the most to do with deciding the program of your congregation?								
37-1	Denominational leaders ..	21	24	14	8	27	12	16	9
37-2	The pastor	113	109	81	65	97	8	107	57
37-3	Local congregation members	107	14	43	14	68	29	35	21
37-4	Don't know	110	78	112	55	133	22	138	73
38.	Has your congregation made any changes within the last year with respect to any of the following activities? (Check as many as apply)								
37-5	Music program	58	77	46	7	89	21	61	72
37-6	Worship services	72	56	18	44	51	3	126	94
37-7	Sunday School program ..	117	32	41	45	61	11	33	36
37-8	Day School program	51	11	8	10	13	1	8	3
37-9	New organizations	75	27	31	45	38	14	126	28
37-0	Its approach to the neighborhood	39	107	83	34	97	15	54	91
37-X	None of these	35	6	17	7	25	8	7	3
37-Y	Don't know	109	67	79	51	124	31	85	31
39.	In general, do you approve of the changes which have been made?								
38-1	Yes	186	87	118	81	163	31	184	102
38-2	No	15	44	13	1	6	—	19	6
38-3	No changes made	28	5	17	5	23	4	6	2
38-4	Don't know	78	66	63	39	95	20	63	27
40.	Compared with other congregations of your denomination, how would you rate your congregation with respect to size, program, equipment and facilities, budget, kinds of members and its willingness to accept new ideas?								
SIZE									
39-1	Larger than average	210	32	54	1	83	1	161	40
39-2	About average	102	134	120	51	189	27	102	74
39-3	Smaller than average	2	13	3	66	4	29	2	4
39-4	Don't know	18	33	60	18	41	12	26	23
PROGRAM									
39-5	Better than average	130	32	98	19	68	5	169	75
39-6	About average	166	129	92	89	189	37	87	39
39-7	Poorer than average	4	11	1	3	4	11	—	1
39-8	Don't know	28	38	47	24	52	16	31	26
FACILITIES									
40-1	Better than average	265	59	78	2	58	6	118	77
40-2	About average	52	105	114	71	194	35	139	40

*Churches are coded by number. 1=Reformation; 3=Zion; 5=Bethlehem; 6=Trinity; 7=Our Saviour's; 9=St. Mark's; 10=St. John's; 12=Immanuel.

CHURCHES*

	1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
40-3 Poorer than average	—	10	5	39	11	14	8	2
40-4 Don't know	14	34	38	24	47	13	21	18

BUDGET

40-5 Larger than average	140	34	51	4	43	3	106	45
40-6 About average	116	106	111	32	175	29	108	53
40-7 Smaller than average	1	6	—	75	9	14	1	—
40-8 Don't know	71	62	72	25	84	20	73	45

KINDS OF MEMBERS

41-1 Wealthier than members of other churches	4	3	9	—	12	—	31	20
41-2 About the same	278	109	155	54	200	47	181	79
41-3 Poorer than members of other churches	2	37	1	51	28	1	3	2
41-4 Don't know	45	61	73	35	77	22	75	41

NEW IDEAS

41-5 Very receptive to new ideas	65	41	71	28	37	9	64	37
41-6 Moderately receptive to new ideas	192	91	99	66	158	32	152	59
41-7 Not receptive to new ideas	4	14	2	1	16	8	13	2
41-8 Don't know	69	62	66	41	104	20	61	48

41. Are the problems facing your congregation more difficult, less difficult or about the same as the problems facing other city congregation that you know about?

42-1 More difficult	52	128	106	65	70	20	92	28
42-2 About the same	193	45	84	49	159	33	124	81
42-3 Less difficult	4	4	7	4	2	—	1	2
42-4 Don't know	81	43	40	21	91	17	75	36

42. All in all, how good a job do you think your congregation is doing?

42-5 Very good job	173	60	149	45	108	13	151	80
42-6 Fairly good job	138	121	67	76	176	42	121	49
42-7 Rather poor job	4	4	—	7	7	7	3	4
42-8 Don't know	17	29	21	11	32	8	19	15

We are particularly anxious to get your opinions about the work which your church is doing in the local community. The following questions are concerned with this part of your congregation's activities.

43. What is your opinion of the neighborhood in which your church is located?

43-1 A very nice place to live ..	276	9	175	26	25	25	35	74
43-2 A fairly nice place to live	56	47	44	89	94	38	27	50
43-3 A rather poor place to live	2	149	10	15	189	4	141	16
43-4 Don't know	2	14	11	9	14	3	27	6

44. We know that some city neighborhoods change very fast. What is your impression as to what has been going on in your neighborhood over the last year?

		CHURCHES*							
		1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
43-5	Changing for the better ..	234	5	71	20	170	45	172	106
43-6	Not changing very much ..	81	20	85	84	69	14	41	13
43-7	Changing for the worse	2	164	36	15	32	7	8	5
43-8	Don't know	18	29	45	20	48	4	32	20
45.	Over the last five years, has there been a change in the kind of people living in the neighborhood of your church?								
43-9	Yes	91	211	224	60	119	46	86	86
43-0	No	130	3	5	31	93	15	75	10
43-X	Don't know	116	8	18	49	116	10	136	54
IF YOUR ANSWER IS YES, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS 46, 47, 48 and 49; IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION 50.									
46.	How do the newer residents living in the neighborhood of the church compare with older residents with respect to friendliness, education, income, nationality, number of children, religion and interest in church?								
FRIENDLINESS									
44-1	Newer residents are more friendly	22	7	51	13	10	11	12	5
44-2	Older residents are more friendly	9	75	21	10	16	15	5	18
44-3	No difference in friendliness	52	34	66	32	40	11	28	20
44-4	Don't know	31	88	79	14	68	11	50	46
EDUCATION									
44-5	Newer residents are better educated	46	2	41	7	15	22	30	40
44-6	Older residents are better educated	1	99	24	10	18	2	3	3
44-7	There is no difference	31	20	58	27	29	9	12	7
44-8	Don't know	35	84	94	25	75	12	48	39
INCOME									
45-1	Newer residents have higher incomes	38	4	23	2	15	22	36	50
45-2	Older residents have higher incomes	2	100	29	12	17	2	5	5
45-3	There is no difference	26	8	50	18	26	4	4	3
45-4	Don't know	53	95	119	39	80	18	52	32
NATIONALITY									
45-5	Newer residents are of a different nationality background	18	165	181	39	60	21	13	31
45-6	Newer residents have the same nationality background	28	4	15	3	13	4	20	11
45-7	Don't know	72	35	19	31	66	21	62	50

*Churches are coded by number. 1=Reformation; 3=Zion; 5=Bethlehem; 6=Trinity; 7=Our Saviour's; 9=St. Mark's; 10=St. John's; 12=Immanuel.

	CHURCHES*							
	1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
NO. OF CHILDREN								
46-1 Newer residents have more children	48	116	123	28	36	9	8	—
46-2 Older residents have more children	1	2	4	2	2	10	18	36
46-3 There is no difference	25	10	22	19	20	3	8	5
46-4 Don't know	44	79	73	23	79	24	59	47
RELIGION								
46-5 There are more Protestants among newer residents	23	24	83	10	7	4	6	6
46-6 There are more Protestants among older residents	5	39	4	9	13	10	3	11
46-7 There is no difference	18	6	12	11	17	5	8	4
46-8 Don't know	74	137	121	42	94	26	76	72
INTEREST IN CHURCH								
47-1 Newer residents are more interested	23	6	50	14	11	2	11	7
47-2 Older residents are more interested	10	87	14	16	34	25	12	20
47-3 There is no difference	35	15	43	7	23	9	9	8
47-4 Don't know	51	98	113	34	70	11	62	56
47. Are the "newcomers" to the community helping to make your congregation stronger or weaker?								
47-5 Stronger	77	13	96	37	38	15	40	39
47-6 Weaker	—	101	17	3	9	3	1	4
47-7 No difference	20	9	25	15	37	13	17	11
47-8 Don't know	40	82	82	20	65	17	48	49
48. Are the "newcomers" to the community helping to make the neighborhood better or worse?								
48-1 Better	85	4	100	24	40	30	55	56
48-2 Worse	—	125	24	14	14	4	3	1
48-3 No difference	21	18	49	25	31	6	10	6
48-4 Don't know	32	58	54	12	62	8	39	42
49. How good a job is your congregation doing in reaching the "newcomers" in the community?								
48-5 Very good job	31	69	154	35	54	5	35	43
48-6 Fairly good job	66	78	54	26	60	22	40	34
48-7 Rather poor job	9	3	—	2	2	9	2	3
48-8 Don't know	36	54	21	14	37	10	36	28
50. Which of the following problems exist in the neighborhood of your church? (Please answer for each problem)								
Juvenile delinquency								
49-1 Yes	25	74	8	28	95	9	48	10
49-2 No	167	4	89	25	21	21	34	33
49-3 Don't know	116	112	121	74	154	31	131	90

CHURCHES*								
	1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
<i>Drug addiction</i>								
49-4 Yes	—	24	2	2	2	1	37	4
49-5 No	188	6	92	41	45	23	28	23
49-6 Don't know	112	146	122	71	201	34	142	100
<i>Mental illness</i>								
49-7 Yes	6	4	—	6	26	2	26	8
49-8 No	164	6	81	32	32	20	28	18
49-9 Don't know	132	163	136	76	192	37	152	102
<i>Slums</i>								
50-1 Yes	2	67	2	24	109	15	60	5
50-2 No	230	16	143	43	47	29	50	38
50-3 Don't know	60	80	60	46	102	13	87	38
<i>Alcoholism</i>								
50-4 Yes	16	58	2	37	71	5	59	8
50-5 No	147	9	82	16	28	19	31	12
50-6 Don't know	125	101	122	60	145	30	104	62
<i>Rapid increase in number of older persons</i>								
50-7 Yes	26	13	6	11	30	10	24	13
50-8 No	137	20	88	23	43	14	36	8
50-9 Don't know	122	120	106	71	171	31	117	60
<i>Overcrowded public schools</i>								
51-1 Yes	80	111	149	70	97	31	32	27
51-2 No	145	6	16	9	35	6	41	16
51-3 Don't know	70	62	57	37	121	21	107	84
<i>Racial conflict</i>								
51-4 Yes	—	128	74	17	47	7	27	4
51-5 No	215	14	80	38	62	27	45	41
51-6 Don't know	68	53	65	55	145	22	110	78
51. How good a job is your congregation doing in helping to solve these problems? (Please answer for each problem)								
<i>Juvenile delinquency</i>								
52-1 Very good job	51	27	61	19	32	1	13	3
52-2 Fairly good job	75	35	36	24	62	5	29	8
52-3 Poor job	4	4	1	9	13	10	11	1
52-4 Don't know	145	123	100	66	163	35	145	109
<i>Drug addiction</i>								
52-5 Very good job	23	5	20	6	8	1	3	1
52-6 Fairly good job	22	4	9	9	9	1	15	1
52-7 Poor job	—	—	—	3	2	7	5	1
52-8 Don't know	204	164	161	93	236	37	172	115
<i>Mental illness</i>								
52-9 Very good job	22	3	18	8	62	—	4	2
52-0 Fairly good job	33	7	10	12	21	3	14	9
52-X Poor job	—	1	—	1	2	8	4	2
52-Y Don't know	201	160	162	89	174	36	173	105

*Churches are coded by number. 1=Reformation; 3=Zion; 5=Bethlehem; 6=Trinity; 7=Our Saviour's; 9=St. Mark's; 10=St. John's; 12=Immanuel.

CHURCHES*

	1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
<i>Slums</i>								
53-1 Very good job	27	11	44	4	14	1	8	2
53-2 Fairly good job	27	24	19	18	34	1	17	2
53-3 Poor job	1	10	—	4	8	9	4	1
53-4 Don't know	193	126	128	81	193	35	170	112
<i>Alcoholism</i>								
53-5 Very good job	26	4	20	13	10	1	3	1
53-6 Fairly good job	42	13	8	19	24	1	21	6
53-7 Poor job	3	5	—	5	6	9	6	1
53-8 Don't know	181	148	158	74	206	36	165	110
<i>Rapid increase in number of older persons</i>								
53-9 Very good job	26	4	13	7	11	2	4	2
53-0 Fairly good job	42	11	13	12	22	6	17	6
53-X Poor job	1	1	1	1	9	5	6	4
53-Y Don't know	184	152	158	87	200	35	164	108
<i>Overcrowded public schools</i>								
54-1 Very good job	37	8	47	7	8	—	2	1
54-2 Fairly good job	41	17	38	18	19	2	12	—
54-3 Poor job	2	8	4	5	9	10	5	1
54-4 Don't know	177	141	122	81	213	34	166	113
<i>Racial conflict</i>								
54-5 Very good job	26	43	120	18	39	2	7	3
54-6 Fairly good job	20	62	27	19	53	5	17	7
54-7 Poor job	1	9	—	4	5	7	6	—
54-8 Don't know	193	77	72	72	160	32	159	106
52. All in all, do the people in the neighborhood think of your church as more or less important than other churches in the community?								
55-1 More important	80	44	126	14	38	5	42	16
55-2 Less important	—	8	2	12	18	13	10	9
55-3 No difference	119	26	28	49	55	20	67	18
55-4 Don't know	134	131	80	56	196	31	120	99

Here are three problems which sometimes arise in big city life. Please read each carefully and then indicate whether or not you consider the problem as affecting you personally, as affecting your congregation and also indicate what you think your congregation should do about it.

Problem 1—The bigness of a city tends to make people lonely.
To what extent do you feel this personally?

56-1 Very much	22	17	14	9	21	4	27	15
56-2 Some	43	43	42	44	74	11	56	34
56-3 Not very much	235	108	163	71	182	45	160	83
56-4 Don't know	28	38	21	12	37	7	24	14

To what extent do you feel this affects your congregation?

56-5 Very much	18	26	13	6	29	4	33	17
56-6 Some	62	51	40	42	86	14	97	47

		CHURCHES*							
		1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
56-7	Not very much	176	50	99	39	87	25	70	25
56-8	Don't know	69	77	84	51	107	22	72	55
Is your congregation doing anything to help people to meet this problem?									
57-1	Yes—a lot	49	42	76	36	70	9	152	41
57-2	Yes—a little	78	43	32	41	84	14	39	29
57-3	No, not really	36	14	17	5	18	14	4	16
57-4	Don't know	163	103	104	57	135	30	78	59
IF YES, please describe what your congregation is doing and give your judgment as to the success it is achieving in overcoming this problem									
.....									
54.	Problem 2—In many parts of our big cities, people from different backgrounds live together, and ill feeling sometimes arises between members of the different groups. To what extent do you feel that this problem affects you personally?								
57-5	Very much	7	25	24	4	14	2	4	2
57-6	Some	17	53	48	12	37	7	21	12
57-7	Not very much	269	108	137	92	207	50	205	111
57-8	Don't know	37	25	22	27	50	7	35	15
To what extent do you feel that it affects your congregation?									
58-1	Very much	4	64	40	3	20	2	4	1
58-2	Some	31	78	74	23	57	8	37	9
58-3	Not very much	215	23	76	62	124	34	150	79
58-4	Don't know	78	45	43	49	110	21	80	50
Is your congregation now doing anything to meet this problem?									
58-5	Yes—a lot	9	52	117	20	35	2	23	6
58-6	Yes—a little	24	39	21	20	41	4	26	13
58-7	No, not really	61	14	11	14	21	17	31	18
58-8	Don't know	221	95	74	79	207	37	167	99
IF YES, please describe what your congregation is doing and give your judgment as to the success it is achieving in overcoming this problem									
.....									

*Churches are coded by number. 1=Reformation; 3=Zion; 5=Bethlehem; 6=Trinity; 7=Our Saviour's; 9=St. Mark's; 10=St. John's; 12=Immanuel.

		CHURCHES*							
		1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
55.	Problem 3—The people of the city tend to move very frequently. In those parts of the city where there is a lot of population movement, the schools, churches, and business face a difficult problem in trying to meet the needs of ever changing population. To what extent do you feel that this problem affects your congregation?								
	59-1 Very much	6	111	60	15	98	22	29	59
	59-2 Some	56	43	70	57	91	22	69	41
	59-3 Not very much	194	15	62	17	50	7	97	9
	59-4 Don't know	75	41	40	46	77	16	72	34
	Is your congregation now doing anything to meet the needs of the new people moving into your neighborhood?								
	59-5 Yes—a lot	48	74	117	32	81	6	53	57
	59-6 Yes—a little	58	52	29	24	61	12	45	21
	59-7 No, not really	37	8	5	7	24	18	21	5
	59-8 Don't know	185	71	79	73	149	31	131	58
	IF YES, please describe what your congregation is doing and give your judgment as to the success it is achieving in meeting this problem								
That about ends the main part of the questionnaire and we are nearly finished. Please now give the best answers you can to the following questions quickly without seeking any help. Our interest is to get some idea about the kind of religious knowledge that church people have. Please don't hesitate to check "don't know" if you can't answer a question.									
56.	As far as you know, is the Book of Psalms in the Old Testament or in the New Testament?								
	60-1 Old Testament	268	177	200	99	242	64	263	125
	60-2 New Testament	33	17	24	21	49	2	14	8
	60-3 Don't know	27	18	15	13	23	2	7	9
57.	Would you say that the Book of Acts is an eye-witness account of Jesus' ministry?								
	60-4 Yes	112	87	73	65	130	24	109	44
	60-5 No	62	42	74	14	71	16	94	40
	60-6 Don't know	147	73	82	50	98	22	62	52
58.	Which of the following books of the Bible are the Gospels? (Check those that you think are one of the Gospels)								
	61-1 Matthew	284	182	222	115	269	60	273	132
	61-2 Mark	258	173	203	108	254	56	266	117

CHURCHES*									
	1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12	
61-3 Peter	38	14	25	14	30	9	13	11	
61-4 James	22	12	17	8	16	6	12	10	
61-5 John	277	180	212	103	268	57	259	118	
61-6 Luke	281	184	216	115	266	61	261	127	
59. Recent scientific studies prove the white race is best. As far as you know, is this statement true or false?									
62-1 True	43	55	19	16	79	8	67	28	
62-2 False	185	85	172	87	155	41	130	74	
62-3 Don't know	93	70	50	32	76	16	84	41	
60. It is the Christian teaching that all men are equal in the sight of God. As far as you know, is this statement true or false?									
62-4 True	322	205	238	129	306	68	283	139	
62-5 False	6	3	2	4	7	2	4	2	
62-6 Don't know	5	8	2	2	5	1	3	4	
61. Do you think that your congregation should accept into membership persons of all races?									
62-7 Yes	231	126	217	110	241	54	195	127	
62-8 No	45	67	11	15	38	2	34	8	
62-9 Don't know	56	22	13	11	42	13	53	9	
62. How much help is your church membership to you in the following areas of your life? (Please check answer for each area)									
<i>In helping me to know of God's love and care for me</i>									
63-1 Much	275	157	202	103	253	52	229	103	
63-2 Some	40	29	26	27	43	11	41	23	
63-3 Little	8	7	6	1	7	3	6	10	
<i>In meeting the right kind of people</i>									
63-4 Much	122	66	85	55	135	21	112	34	
63-5 Some	123	75	89	44	96	16	96	37	
63-6 Little	58	37	40	20	51	21	55	50	
<i>In bringing my family closer together</i>									
63-7 Much	201	111	126	75	171	19	139	42	
63-8 Some	77	46	48	38	63	10	51	26	
63-9 Little	36	19	33	12	37	21	44	37	
<i>In making right decisions in my business</i>									
63-0 Much	115	59	87	24	117	19	112	39	

*Churches are coded by number. 1=Reformation; 3=Zion; 5=Bethlehem; 6=Trinity; 7=Our Saviour's; 9=St. Mark's; 10=St. John's; 12=Immanuel.

CHURCHES*								
	1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
63-X Some	82	43	54	32	65	10	69	25
63-Y Little	86	39	42	41	63	17	40	37
<i>In making me aware of the needs of others in my community</i>								
64-1 Much	122	89	108	62	140	22	121	55
64-2 Some	133	58	73	41	90	18	89	41
64-3 Little	53	25	33	17	41	13	47	24
<i>In helping me to understand people of different cultures and races</i>								
64-4 Much	109	94	151	54	120	25	105	38
64-5 Some	119	47	59	52	92	12	100	44
64-6 Little	77	35	17	16	57	15	52	39
<i>In strengthening my faith</i>								
64-7 Much	268	139	185	108	236	41	224	100
64-8 Some	37	28	29	17	33	11	37	22
64-9 Little	8	8	9	—	7	5	5	12
<i>In broadening my understanding of the meaning of life</i>								
64-0 Much	235	123	171	89	202	42	206	85
64-X Some	59	31	39	28	55	11	51	30
64-Y Little	15	12	15	6	13	5	9	17

Now a few last questions about yourself and then the questionnaire will be finished.

63. What is your marital status?
- | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|----|-----|----|
| 65-1 Married | 262 | 134 | 163 | 90 | 217 | 30 | 175 | 63 |
| 65-2 Single | 55 | 54 | 60 | 37 | 71 | 27 | 77 | 63 |
| 65-3 Widowed | 19 | 27 | 19 | 4 | 25 | 10 | 31 | 19 |
| 65-4 Divorced | — | 6 | 4 | 8 | 9 | 3 | 14 | 4 |
64. What is your sex?
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|----|-----|-----|
| 65-5 Male | 138 | 76 | 80 | 55 | 110 | 25 | 100 | 44 |
| 65-6 Female | 198 | 143 | 166 | 85 | 210 | 43 | 196 | 104 |
65. How old are you? (Please check correct range)
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 66-1 Under 15 | 7 | 1 | 5 | 15 | — | 1 | 1 | — |
| 66-2 15-19 | 28 | 14 | 21 | 24 | 22 | 5 | 6 | 3 |
| 66-3 20-29 | 55 | 31 | 27 | 27 | 46 | 8 | 47 | 29 |
| 66-4 30-39 | 85 | 35 | 68 | 30 | 51 | 5 | 35 | 27 |
| 66-5 40-49 | 85 | 34 | 44 | 24 | 45 | 9 | 48 | 20 |
| 66-6 50-59 | 39 | 42 | 49 | 15 | 56 | 16 | 66 | 31 |
| 66-7 60-69 | 23 | 42 | 25 | 3 | 63 | 15 | 44 | 22 |
| 66-8 70 or over | 13 | 23 | 8 | 2 | 41 | 10 | 48 | 17 |
66. How much education have you had?
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 67-1 Grade school or less | 56 | 57 | 22 | 40 | 89 | 21 | 40 | 23 |
| 67-2 Some high school | 95 | 59 | 51 | 60 | 63 | 12 | 57 | 32 |
| 67-3 Graduated high school | 105 | 53 | 62 | 27 | 87 | 16 | 77 | 38 |
| 67-4 Some college | 47 | 28 | 53 | 10 | 60 | 9 | 66 | 22 |
| 67-5 Graduated college | 33 | 23 | 58 | 1 | 23 | 13 | 56 | 32 |
67. How many members of your household have incomes?
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|----|-----|----|
| 67-6 One | 203 | 142 | 125 | 82 | 188 | 42 | 187 | 91 |
| 67-7 Two | 89 | 46 | 91 | 37 | 93 | 19 | 73 | 35 |

CHURCHES*								
	1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
67-8 Three	26	9	12	11	20	5	14	6
67-9 More than three	8	7	7	2	7	1	3	3
68. What is your total family income? (Please check correct range)								
68-1 Under \$2,000	20	14	9	8	30	4	21	14
68-2 \$2,000-2,999	17	21	8	9	30	5	19	6
68-3 \$3,000-3,999	19	16	8	16	53	10	38	22
68-4 \$4,000-4,999	66	26	32	26	61	11	42	22
68-5 \$5,000-5,999	70	30	35	30	44	9	36	15
68-6 \$6,000-6,999	51	19	18	12	25	4	21	8
68-7 \$7,000-7,999	26	21	23	6	17	3	16	6
68-8 \$8,000-8,999	22	5	23	2	11	4	8	9
68-9 \$9,000-9,999	15	6	14	1	6	1	16	3
68-0 \$10,000 or more	15	24	45	—	7	11	32	16
69. By and large, do you think of yourself as being of the working class, the upper class, the lower class, or the middle class? Of which of these groups do you consider yourself a member?								
69-5 Working	198	130	112	104	181	28	122	55
69-6 Upper	3	5	7	1	5	1	10	5
69-7 Lower	2	3	5	3	7	1	2	2
69-8 Middle	132	78	117	26	125	40	160	83
70. What is the occupation of the head of your household? (Check one of the ten types below)								
70-1 <i>Clerical and related workers:</i> bookkeepers, stenographers, cashiers, mail carriers, shipping clerks, secretaries, ticket agents, telephone operators, office machine operators, etc.	40	36	46	10	68	10	49	43
70-2 <i>Craftsmen, foremen, and related workers:</i> tinsmiths, bakers, carpenters, masons, shoe- makers, electricians, inspectors, cement workers, jewelers, ma- chinists, painters, etc.	58	54	56	33	53	7	31	10
70-3 <i>Laborers:</i> garage laborers, car washers, stevedores, lumbermen, teamsters, gardeners, unskilled helpers in construction, manufacturing, fishing, etc.	38	12	8	26	34	1	16	1
70-4 <i>Operatives and related workers:</i> chauffeurs, delivery men, laundry workers, apprentices, meat cutters, semi-skilled and un- skilled employees in manufacturing establishments (bakers, tobacco,								

*Churches are coded by number. 1=Reformation; 3=Zion; 5=Bethlehem; 6=Trinity; 7=Our Saviour's; 9=St. Mark's; 10=St. John's; 12=Immanuel.

		CHURCHES*							
		1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
textiles, etc.), wholesale and retail workers, mine laborers, bus drivers, motormen, etc.		36	11	6	18	24	3	10	1
70-5 <i>Private household workers:</i> servants, laundresses, employed housekeepers. (Do not include unemployed housewives!)		—	4	4	1	3	1	5	2
70-6 <i>Professional, technical and similar workers:</i> teachers, editors, dentists, clergymen, professors, instructors, doctors, lawyers, nurses, architects, librarians, social workers, accountants, funeral directors, photographers, dancers, optometrists, aviators, surveyors, chiropractors, athletes, etc.		43	32	57	2	34	13	66	25
70-7 <i>Proprietors, managers and officials:</i> public officials, credit men, buyers, officers, floor managers, proprietors, railroad conductors, etc.		27	10	19	4	13	8	19	23
70-8 <i>Sales workers:</i> salesmen, insurance and real estate agents and brokers, stock and bond salesmen, newsboys, demonstrators, etc.		23	5	9	1	11	6	22	4
70-9 <i>Service workers, except domestic:</i> fire, police, barbers, beauticians, janitors, porters, waiters, ushers, practical nurses, etc.		10	5	16	7	16	4	5	2
70-0 Other (Specify)		39	24	12	13	27	8	38	12
71.	How long have you lived in your present home?								
71-1	One year or less	44	39	39	42	57	6	44	26
71-2	Two to three years	60	41	49	40	62	11	51	27
71-3	Four to five years	42	32	66	13	45	7	35	11
71-4	Six to ten years	79	27	45	19	44	18	48	23
71-5	More than ten years	109	81	44	20	113	26	110	61
72.	How long have you lived in this city?								
71-6	One year or less	9	6	6	6	7	—	10	9
71-7	Two to three years	16	3	3	14	16	2	11	16
71-8	Four to five years	24	3	7	10	23	4	9	9
71-9	Six to ten years	48	5	12	17	19	3	12	10
71-0	More than ten years	239	201	212	88	253	60	247	98
73.	In what country were you born?								
72-1	The USA	322	184	218	127	293	57	284	112
72-2	Other; give the name	14	37	28	9	29	13	7	37
74.	Did you grow up in a city, town, village or on a farm?								
73-1	On a farm	102	32	28	37	107	3	23	11

		CHURCHES*							
		1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
73-2	Village of 2,000 or less	46	8	14	17	40	2	23	11
73-3	Town of over 2,000 to 10,000	50	15	20	12	25	7	45	18
73-4	Small city over 10,000 to 100,000	101	14	27	21	27	7	30	18
73-5	Large city, over 100,000 ..	43	150	164	54	132	49	167	91
75.	In what country was your father born?								
73-6	The USA	213	71	152	109	147	15	197	42
73-7	Other; give name of country	119	146	93	27	171	54	90	103
76.	How many children do you have?								
74-1	None	73	81	81	46	121	40	128	78
74-2	One	63	51	61	16	54	11	54	26
74-3	Two	89	45	56	14	53	12	55	19
74-4	Three	62	19	24	19	40	2	21	4
74-5	Four or more	44	13	15	34	39	1	15	3
77.	Do any of your children attend a parochial school?								
74-6	Yes	5	6	7	11	13	1	2	—
74-7	No	266	129	168	85	193	33	176	66
78.	Are there members of your immediate family who do not belong to your church or Sunday School? (Check those who do not belong)								
74-8	Spouse (Husband or wife)	24	28	42	23	30	8	20	33
74-9	One child	16	22	20	10	20	4	24	10
74-0	Two children	6	7	10	5	11	4	11	13
74-X	Three children	5	6	2	7	17	—	7	2
74-Y	Other relative living with us	18	14	29	7	14	7	12	8
79.	How far do you live from the church?								
75-1	Less than 5 blocks	67	25	80	64	24	25	5	16
75-2	5 to 10 blocks	94	27	29	50	17	15	1	17
75-3	11 to 20 blocks	103	21	43	14	34	10	6	14
75-4	21 to 30 blocks	34	38	32	1	41	1	12	16
75-5	More than 30 blocks	36	109	60	6	202	17	259	86
80.	Do you expect to move?								
76-1	Within six months	10	26	16	18	21	1	12	12
76-2	Between six months and a year	2	17	10	12	24	4	12	11
76-3	In two to three years	11	23	22	6	23	10	12	15
76-4	In four years or more	10	4	11	6	7	3	11	5
76-5	Never	90	17	40	9	44	6	50	8
76-6	Don't know	209	129	134	84	194	43	187	91
81.	Are you a member of a labor union?								
76-7	Yes	93	53	59	44	96	6	33	13

*Churches are coded by number. 1=Reformation; 3=Zion; 5=Bethlehem; 6=Trinity; 7=Our Saviour's; 9=St. Mark's; 10=St. John's; 12=Immanuel.

		CHURCHES*							
		1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
76-8 No		232	149	168	78	208	58	242	127
82.	Did you vote in the last presidential election?								
76-9 Yes		266	186	199	65	262	60	250	114
76-0 No		65	30	40	63	56	9	39	31
83.	What organizations (other than church organizations) do you belong to? (Please list names)								
.....									
.....									
84.	How many organizations, other than church organizations, do you belong to?								
77-1 None		161	104	89	83	140	33	99	73
77-2 One		72	38	46	21	80	10	65	23
77-3 Two		39	22	42	12	36	8	48	19
77-4 Three		19	14	23	4	18	5	30	8
77-5 Four or more		18	12	27	1	19	4	33	12
85.	Which of the following magazines do you read more or less regularly?								
78-1 ADVANCE		1	5	2	5	3	1	1	2
78-2 THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN		10	3	1	1	3	7	10	2
78-3 THE LUTHERAN		7	4	1	—	14	24	192	41
78-4 THE LUTHERAN COMPANION		4	183	206	1	4	—	1	—
78-5 THE LUTHERAN HERALD		54	—	—	41	115	—	1	1
78-6 THE LUTHERAN STANDARD		63	—	1	—	2	—	7	2
78-7 THE LUTHERAN WITNESS		1	1	4	4	3	—	4	5
78-8 LIFE		97	88	124	54	96	33	122	84
78-9 TIME		56	29	58	11	46	19	67	47
79-1 READERS DIGEST		169	128	195	52	196	46	177	91
79-2 SATURDAY EVENING POST		75	58	153	41	71	11	81	34
79-3 NEWSWEEK		22	26	128	5	31	12	42	32
79-4 SPORTS ILLUSTRATED		16	11	124	15	18	4	21	2
79-5 LADIES HOME JOURNAL		72	59	153	28	77	16	71	39
79-6 THE REPORTER		34	8	121	—	3	—	4	2
79-7 BETTER HOMES & GARDENS		103	69	163	18	115	17	96	32
79-8 SATURDAY REVIEW ..		2	7	122	1	1	4	12	—
79-9 CONFIDENTIAL		5	2	87	12	5	—	2	1
86.	Which of the following television programs have you seen at least once during the last month?								
80-1 "The Christophers"		21	10	9	16	24	5	30	6
80-2 "Lamp Unto My Feet"		14	16	15	9	21	10	24	11
80-3 "Faith For Today"		34	39	25	9	37	4	23	11

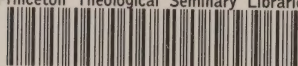
CHURCHES

	1	3	5	6	7	9	10	12
80-4 "Frontiers of Religion"	9	6	11	3	9	2	15	9
80-5 "Crossroads"	96	103	110	107	104	22	21	39
80-6 "This Is The Life"	71	38	24	38	74	11	43	16
80-7 Bishop Fulton Sheen	44	40	30	32	49	20	50	26
80-8 Norman Vincent Peale	25	13	20	5	31	16	36	19
80-9 Oral Roberts	45	2	—	21	57	9	23	6

We hope you enjoyed filling out the questionnaire. Our sincere thanks for your cooperation.

Type used in this book
Body, 10 on 12 and 8 on 9 Caledonia
Display, Spartan
Paper: Spring Grove E.F.

Princeton Theological Seminary Libraries



1 1012 01233 8770

~~NEW BOOK~~ Date Due

~~AUG 24 '61~~	~~DEC 10 '64~~	~~FACULTY~~
~~SEP 7 '61~~	~~FACULTY~~	
~~SEP 27 '61~~	~~SEP 10 '65~~	~~FACULTY~~
~~OCT 9 '61~~	~~MAY 3 '65~~	~~FACULTY~~
~~OCT 22 '61~~	~~MAY 3 '65~~	~~FACULTY~~
~~NOV 27 '61~~	~~DEC 10 '74~~	
~~MAY 1 '62~~	~~NOV 1 '65~~	~~FACULTY~~
~~MAY 18 '62~~	~~FACULTY~~	~~MAY 18 '62~~
~~JUL 12 '62~~	~~FACULTY~~	~~FACULTY~~
~~OCT 17 '62~~	~~NOV 21 '74~~	
~~2 weeks~~	~~MAR 28 '66~~	~~APR 11 '66~~
~~JAN 2 '63~~	~~APR 11 '66~~	~~APR 11 '66~~
~~JAN 2 '63~~	~~APR 11 '66~~	~~APR 11 '66~~
~~NOV 18 '63~~	~~NOV 18 '63~~	~~NOV 18 '63~~
~~FACULTY~~	~~FACULTY~~	~~FACULTY~~
~~JUN 5 '64~~	~~JAN 31 '66~~	
	PRINTED	IN U. S. A.

